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Qualitative Analysis of Jet Boat Users on the Salmon River/Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness: Final Project Report for Phase II

Across Individuals Analysis

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FINAL REPORT FOR RESEARCH AGREEMENT
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"Qualitative Assessment of Jet Boat Users
on the Frank Church-River of No Return
Wilderness: Phase II"
UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA
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INTRODUCTION

The Forest Service is preparing an Environmental Impact Statement as part of a planning effort for the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness. While jet boat users on the Salmon River may be significantly affected by decisions made during the planning process, the Forest Service has little information about the nature of jet boaters' experiences and the nature of their relationship to the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness/Salmon River (FCRNW) and therefore has limited ability to assess how planning decisions will affect this user group. This represents one of a series of studies designed to generate knowledge that will be useful in helping the Forest Service assess the impacts of various management decisions on this user group.

This project report is based on the second phase of a two part qualitative study. In this phase, in-depth interviews ranging from 25 minutes to two hours were conducted with 20 jet boaters. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. The database therefore consists of the text of the interviews rather than numerical responses of the type often used in mail or telephone surveys. Analysis of the interviews focused on identifying, interpreting, and presenting themes important for describing interview participants' relationship to place and the nature of their jet boating experiences.

The study results are presented in two reports. The first report contains an "across individual" analysis. This report explores the phenomenon of jet boating on the Salmon River in the FCRNW and presents themes and findings that have relevance for planning decisions involving jet boaters in general. The second report contains two sections. The first section contains bio-sketches of interview participants. These bio-sketches represent a brief characterization of each individual jet boater's relationship to place, jet boating experiences, use ethic, and other relevant issues. The bio-sketches represent the researcher's interpretation/summary of these issues based on analysis of the interview data but do not contain the actual data. Instead, the biosketches include references to excerpts from the actual interview which allow a reader to assess the basis for the interpretation. These reference numbers can be matched to excerpts contained in the second part of this report ("Data Excerpts"). This latter section of the report contains the actual interview (the data). However, the interview has been "reconstructed" ("cleaned" of extraneous or inconsequential verbalizations and reorganized according to themes relevant to the study). In some ways this second section of the report is like printing out "frequency distributions" in a traditional mail survey. It is the "raw" data organized by topic so readers can have access to the actual data to draw their own conclusions or independently assess the basis for the interpretations presented in the second report. Just as importantly, these excerpts provide additional depth of insight into the individual's relationship to place, nature of experience, etc. that the brief summaries contained in the bio-sketches do not capture. The goal of these latter two sections is to help promote an understanding of jet boaters as a group of real-life, tangible individuals rather than as a more distant, statistical aggregate of characteristics. Used in conjunction with the larger, mail survey conducted by the Aldo Leopold Wilderness Research Institute, these sections will hopefully provide a deeper understanding of this user group.

STUDY APPROACH

Study Sample

A major concern in assessing the validity of research is the issue of the representativeness of the data. Traditionally, representativeness is thought of in population-level terms: are the results representative of (generalizable to) the population being studied?

This is typically achieved through relatively large, random samples. However representativeness also has a second meaning: how well (accuracy, completeness, depth) the findings represent the actual subject being studied. Often there is a tradeoff between these two forms of representativeness - the more specific our understanding of the individual, the less that understanding generalizes to other people. At times specificity in the depth of understanding is more desirable than generalizability. This can be the case when exploring the nature of experiences. For example traditional survey research is adequate for identifying the importance of broad dimensions of the experiences visitors seek (e.g., enjoying nature). However, it is less well suited for exploring or describing the nature of the experience. For example, someone on a week long hunting trip in the FCRNW might say enjoying nature is extremely important just as someone driving through Yellowstone National Park for the day might say it is extremely important. However the nature and dynamics of these two experiences are vastly different. These types of distinctions are more readily captured in open ended interviews. Additionally in situations involving communication with a small and identifiable number of spokespersons or opinion leaders, richness or depth of understanding of those individuals can be as important as a more general understanding of the broader population. For these reasons, this research project focused on generating a more in-depth understanding of a smaller number of individuals.

In the first phase of the project, interviews were conducted with five members of the Western Whitewater Associations' committee responding to the Draft Environmental Impact Statement for the FCRNW. These were key spokespersons and opinion leaders representing an organized group whose members jet boat on the Salmon. The second phase of the study, which is presented in this report, sought to address concerns about whether the 5 individuals interviewed in the first phase of the study adequately represented the variation in, or range of, experiences/relationships to place within the broader jet boating population. However, richness of understanding of the experience/relationship to place was still considered highly important.

The goal of the second phase of this qualitative research project (which entailed an additional 20 interviews) can best be described as an attempt to identify and describe "representative types" of experiences among jet boat users rather than to produce statistically generalizable results. In other words, the goal of sampling was not to determine the extent to which different types of experiences and meanings are distributed across the population of private jet boat users, but to outline and describe in rich detail the range of experiences and meanings associated with jet boat use on the Salmon River in the FCRNW. Therefore, purposive rather than random sampling was used to select a diverse sample representing an array of different experiences.

To try and ensure diversity in the sample, two primary criteria were used to select the sample of interview participants. The first criterion was "nature of jet boat use." Three different categories were defined to represent this dimension: jet boat operators, passengers, and landowners who used jet boats to access their land holdings on the Salmon River. The second criterion was organizational affiliation. Three categories were identified: Western Whitewater Association members, Northwest River Runners, and unaffiliated jet boaters. The goal was to distribute the 20 individuals interviewed across these categories (with slightly greater emphasis given to operators over passengers). Interviews were conducted at a place chosen by the interview participants and were set up with specific individuals selected on the basis of these sampling criteria. However, when the interviewer arrived at the agreed upon interview site, he frequently found that a husband and wife both wished to participate or that the original contact had invited one or more friends to participate in the interview. We felt these situations would provide richer insights into understanding these jet boaters due to the tendency for respondents to "build off" each others' comments and because these usually were people who went jet boating together. Therefore we conducted group interviews when these situations occurred.

Interviews

Because the goal was to understand the nature and meaning of the experience from the respondents' personal perspectives, interviews were open-ended and flexible rather than based on a single, standardized set of questions. However, an interview guide identifying themes to be addressed in the interview and a series of possible lead-in questions for each theme were developed to ensure that interviews were systematic and focused enough to cover relevant and comparable (across interviews) information. Interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed.

Data Analysis

Interviews were analyzed by developing an organizing system. The purpose of an organizing system is to identify predominant themes through which interviews can be meaningfully organized, interpreted, and presented. The process of developing an organizing system is the "analysis," while the final organizing system is the product of the analysis. The development of an organizing system is a systematic process beginning with the identification of meaning units (segments of the interview that are comprehensible on their own; these represent the data or basic unit of analysis), followed by the identification of themes (these represent the researcher's interpretation of what one or more meaning units reveal regarding the phenomenon being studied), and ending with an analysis of the interrelationship among themes. In the presentation of results, rather than using the interview participants' real first name, pseudonyms are used.

RESULTS: ACROSS INDIVIDUALS ANALYSIS

It is tempting to view potential controversies regarding management of river recreation use on the Salmon River in the FCRNRW as a conflict between motorized and nonmotorized users and/or between locals and nonlocals. While these are important factors, the underlying issues are more complex than may be implied by simply referring to these observable characteristics. The potential for controversy is better understood as a multi-dimensional issue that entails differences in relationship to place, differences in meanings ascribed to the resource, and different perspectives on appropriate use ethics. With regard to relationship to place for example, geographically the Salmon River is a local resource for some river users, but for others it is a distant destination. This geographic dimension of relationship to place may at times lead river users to hold different types of concerns. While part of this issue may entail different concepts of "ownership" (a community resource versus a national treasure), there are other equally important consequences associated with this geographic dimension. For example, local residents are more likely to be concerned with preserving or enhancing opportunities to access the resource over short periods of time (weekends) and with opportunities to spontaneously take advantage of sudden openings in free time. Further, they may also be more concerned about ensuring the possibility of a means of accessing the area as they become older and physical abilities begin to impose greater limitations on activities they could readily engage in when younger. In other words, their ability to do physically demanding activities in remote settings may diminish over time, but their interest in spending time in the places they have recreated in all their lives may not. With respect to meaning of place, locals may be more likely to be aware of the human history and continued human presence within the area, to value the socio-cultural dimension of the experience, and to see the upper Salmon River as a place with a sense of community. They may also be more likely to have a strong personal attachment or bond to the place that predates wilderness designation and strongly shapes their place meanings. In contrast, the meaning of the area for nonlocals may differ because it is more strongly shaped by the area's wilderness designation and the meanings that accompany this culturally defined concept. Finally, with respect to differing use ethics, local jet boaters with a more extensive understanding of the extent of regional opportunities available to them and of the legislative history of this specific wilderness may be more concerned about issues of equity and have a different concept of "responsible shared use" than nonlocal river users without that knowledge.

As a consequence, in addition to focusing on issues related to motorized versus nonmotorized use, it is important for the planning process to explicitly recognize and address these other underlying themes if the river users affected by the outcomes of decisions are to feel that their interests have been listened to, understood, and weighed in the decision making process. In other words, there is a concern for the perceived legitimacy of the planning process that exists somewhat independently of the actual outcomes of the decisions. One of the primary purposes of this "Across Individuals" analysis section is to attempt to draw attention to and help communicate some of the less readily observable but significant underlying themes related to the interests of jet boaters that should be taken into consideration during planning. Because this is not a comparative analysis (no floaters were interviewed in this study), the goal of the analysis is not to try and make the case that the "local" jet boaters interviewed differ from floaters (locals or nonlocals) on these issues. Rather the goal is to identify and discuss themes that appear to be underlying and relevant to the interests/concerns of local jet boaters.

Significance of the Salmon River to Respondents

For several interview participants, a theme that appeared to be important to communicate during the course of the interview was the significance of the Salmon River in their lives. In fact, this theme was so important to one interview participant that he interrupted the interviewer's first question stating that before preceding he wanted to explain his history and background with the area.

> I: The stuff I'm going to ask you is more, I guess, general in the sense of -- D: What I'd like to do is tell you about my background, about the wilderness. Share when I started back in the wilderness and just tell you the history of me and my wife. (Doug, 1-4, #1).[1]

As would be expected, a range in the depth of significance of the relationship to the Salmon River was evident. The organization of the biosketches in the companion report

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[1] The information following the data excerpt identifies the speaker (a pseudonym) and the location of the statement in the original interview transcript; the number following the "#" is a sequential numbering of excerpts presented in this report.

(Biosketches) reflects an attempt to order the interviews according to variation in depth of significance of the Salmon River, going from higher to lower significance. Obviously it is not possible to identify the person for whom the River is most significant nor is it always possible to say individual A should be listed before individual B. The respondents have been placed into several categories reflecting differences in the nature and depth of attachment to the Salmon River. The organization of individuals within these categories is not intended to reflect differences in significance, but across categories there does appear to be differences in the depth and/or nature of the attachment. The discussion in the remainder of this section attempts to outline the variation in significance observed across interview participants, to identify various reasons why the River is significant for different groups of jet boaters, and to suggest some possible planning and management implications underlying the issue of significance.

The Salmon River as Home or a Part of My Life

Those for whom the relationship to the Salmon River seemed most significant described the Salmon River either as home or as a part of their lives. These types of statements were made by at least one of the interview participants in 5 interviews (Howard and Tammy through Jason and Cathy in the table of contents of the companion report). The following excerpts reflect the type of statements made by this group of respondents.

> I: Does the Salmon have some special meaning to you then? H: ... To me, it's a part of my life. I can't imagine not living on a river like this, you know, and the things that it gives you.... [it's still special] every time I go. (Howard, 819-832, #2)
>
> So I guess that's what's special about the Salmon to us. We feel connected. (Alicia, 632, #3)
>
> S: For us, we're just really comfortable. It's like home. I: Just because of the amount of time you've spent there and the experiences? S: And the feeling, and the feeling. K: Ever since I started coming to the Salmon River -- I lived in McCall all my life and I started coming down here to get away from the snow when I was in high school. ... I've always felt like there's something magical about the Salmon River and I can't put it in words other than that. (Sally and Ken, 618-632, #4)
>
> It's my home. I was raised on it. I live here because I can't afford a place down there. But if we had -- either one of us had our wishes we'd live right on the river down there. ... I just love that river. (Jason, 520-5275, #5)

For the jet boaters in this category, the relationship with the Salmon River predates wilderness designation, sometimes by generations. Some of these jet boaters also personally knew some of the historical characters who are now part of the folk history of the river.

> ... like Buckskin Billy. See, I knew him personally. ... I met him when I was 20 years old.... And he walked around and he had this goofy hat on.... He used to come across the river when we'd go in there fishing. ... And this guy would always have a fifth of whiskey with him. (Howard, *175-195, #6)
>
> I was very fortunate I got to know Francis [Zaunmiller] there before she died for a few years,

> and she was the old gal on the river, you know. (Gary, 524, #7)

In addition to expressing an attachment or bond to the river, there was a tendency for this group to make comments that indicated an inter-generational dimension to the relationship with the Salmon River. For several individuals, being on the river allowed them to maintain a connection to past generations and also was something that was important to pass on to the next generation. The following excerpts reflect comments illustrating this inter-generational dimension.

> And when I go back there I can hear [my mother] talking about when the Indians would come ... and how they would trade their furs for the moccasins of the Indians. ... So when I'm back there I feel a part of the family that lived in that cabin and all of the episodes that they talked about. (Alicia, 578-590, #8)

> Our oldest daughter is 18 and graduated ... so she doesn't get back there and she told us the other day that it had been a year and a half since she had been back there. And so we were thinking maybe for Mother's Day even if it was just for Sunday because she was really feeling the need, it's kind of like needing to go home. (Alicia, *466-511, #9).

> H: The grandchildren were just here. ... they always call me up in the summer time. We go down for a picnic or something on a Sunday or Saturday, whatever and look around, go sturgeon fishing. T: Looking at just the sights, like the Indian stuff, you know, they have on the rivers. Our grandkids wouldn't be able to see it, so we take them down there and show it to them. (Howard and Tammy, *116-125, #10)

One group recognized that this type of first hand knowledge about folk history of the river would be lost in subsequent generations, but also noted that it was part of their heritage and something they wanted to pass on to their children to the extent possible.

> S: History is important, period. M: Well, and it's kind of our heritage in a way. ... J: And there's a lot of the history that goes along with the Salmon River that, at least in this generation, we even KNEW the people to some extent. And, of course, you're going to lose that a little bit over generations as it goes on. But a lot of the books that are written are talking about people that we've actually talked to. K: Or rode in a boat with. ... M: And if we didn't know them our parents did. (Sally, Matt, John, Ken, 757-786, #11)

> We've educated our kids about the history of the river taking them up there. Our kids can name each rapid. They can tell you a little bit of history about it. (Sally, 384-386, #12)

And of course there were dimensions of the relationship that were unique to each individual's experiences. For example, Howard was disabled and felt his ability to negotiate the wilderness in this way gained him the respect of peers. Jason's comment about teaching a lot of jet boaters in the area how to run the river is also a reflection that the activity was an opportunity to define one's place in a social community. Additionally, when Jason and Cathy got married they had a December jet boat wedding, ice and all. And finally, for Doug, several close calls for himself or his children created a special bond to the place.

> But it's important to me to be able to do that. I was with guys who have a lot of respect for me because I was with them in the wilderness. (Howard, 268-269, #13)

> I taught, ... a lot of the people that runs the river around here I taught. (Jason, 303, #14)

> I: ... what does the Salmon mean to you, if you can put it into words? ... D: How many times have you come close to death? ... Well, my daughters, the time we lost the engine - A: Helen was probably 5. D: ... so the river could've taken us that day. And the time [the horse rolled on my daughter in the river], that's when she was 12, she could've died. So it means a lot. And there's a lot of times when you fly back there, the weather's so bad that you thank your lucky stars that you made it back out. There's some people here in town that'll vouch for it. They didn't know if they were going to make it or not. So it means a lot to me. (Alicia and Doug, *466-511, #15).

The Salmon River is Highly Significant

This group consists of 4 individuals across 4 interviews (Daniel through Tom in the table of contents of the companion report). Within this group of respondents, the Salmon River has a high level significance in their personal lives. However, relative to the previous category, the language used to characterize the significance tends to be slightly less explicit or not as strong and/or there is a slightly different twist. For example, Daniel differs slightly from those in the previous category in that his responses suggest a love for the outdoors, rivers and jet boating first, and the Salmon River second. For instance, he describes himself as someone who is "addicted to the outdoors" (293) and someone who just "fell in love with rivers" (231). He also has jet boated in Alaska, on the Ganges River in India, and about 1400 miles on 3 river systems in South America. Still he displayed a strong attachment to the Salmon noting that there was no other river like it in the world in terms of challenge and beauty. And like respondents in the previous category, part of the significance of the river was a consequence of shared family experiences across both older and younger generations.

> ... I haven't been all over the world, but I've been quite a few different places. And there's no place in the world that's more beautiful than that upper Salmon, no place. ... (Daniel, *951-957, #16)

> I: So it sounds like the Salmon itself has special meaning to you? D: Absolutely. No other place in the world like it. I: Is that because, again, partly because of the scenery -- D: Uh-huh. I: -- the challenge of getting up there?. D: And getting back. (Daniel, *479-498, #17)

> But [my Dad] did amazingly well and he loved that boat. ... He used it until he died in 1978. He was 78 years old at that time and thinking back on it now, ... I think it would have been a major mistake for me not to have built him one. We ended up getting to do some things together ... and had some times together and some trips together that we never would have had otherwise.... (Daniel, 77-98, #18)

> There's a picture of that old 22 foot boat with a mule loaded in it. In fact, that particular trip, my boy was twelve years old. [My brother's] boy was about eight. ... .. we loaded our backpack stuff and our tent on the mule's back and we started climbing up the mountain. [My brother's] boy ... he kind of gave out so he was hanging on to the mule's tail. ... So anyway, the jet boat played a ... very integral part in that. (Daniel *329-365, #19)

Roger is a landowner on the Salmon. While he did refer to the Salmon as home, unlike those in the preceding category, he added a qualifier "second home." As with Daniel (excerpt #17), part of the river's significance was due to its challenge. In his words, compared to other rivers in the state, the Salmon has always been "the next move up" (393). And as with the respondents discussed above, the river was linked to family experiences.

> It's my home. When you've got property there and have been there for twenty years, it's kind of like you've got a second home. (Roger, 126-127, #20)

> My daughter who went up to Montana, she's a guide on the Salmon River. My son's boated, gosh, I think, first time he rode the Middle Fork he was 12 or 13. Took his own boat down. (Roger, 303-305, #21)

John did not describe the Salmon as home, but childhood jet boating experiences seemed to be highly valued memories and a life experience he hopes to share with his children. However, these memories/desired experiences seemed to encompass the Snake as well as the Salmon. Somewhat similar to Jason's wedding on a jet boat in the Salmon, John had proposed to his wife on a jet boat trip on the river and in thinking about his feelings for the place he "relate[s] it to that." And thinking about the wildlife, fishing, and the landscape John commented "I mean there's no other place to be" (159).

> J: I shot one of my first deer in Hells Canyon, me and my uncle. ... I: Did you go up via jet boat? J: Yeah. Went to Pittsburgh and went down ... hiked up and shot a couple of deer. Pretty exciting, a lot of fun, ran out of gas in the boat and all that. I've gone so far - we drove to Pittsburgh landing and hitchhiked rides with guide boats... [he would] throw us on the nose and we got all these tourists behind us from Lewiston and he dropped us into big waves, would get us all wet. We'd help them load and unload, you know, but it got us up the river until we could meet our party. (John, 446-457, #22)

> ... my kids are starting to get old enough now where I can take them up there and go do some serious fishing. Before they were too young, last summer was a good test summer for us to see what they could handle and what they can do. (John, 430-431, #23)

> I: In general ... does the Salmon itself have any special meaning for you, that comes to mind when you think of the Salmon? ... J: The only thing I could think of is that's where I asked my wife to marry me. That took a lot of planning and my knees were knocking and I was scared, I was really scared. I mean, I'm hours away. If she says no, I just swim back ... So for me I relate it to that .... (John, *183-201, #24)

Tom was the hardest "call" in this category. He described himself as someone who had been interested in boats all his life and his interview clearly emphasized the significance of jet boating. Thus, like Daniel, he seemed to place his love of rivers and jet boating first, and the Salmon River second. He had a strong affinity for the Salmon River country, describing it as special and the Salmon River as "world class", a challenging river that imparts special stature to those able to run it, something that he had pride in being recognized for. And though he was perhaps less expressive in describing his emotional bond to the place than others who were described above, he owned land in the area, had spent 30 years of his life as a professional hunter/guide/outfitter in the area, and the overall tone of the interview suggested a high degree of attachment.

> Oh, I've been interested in boats all my life. You know, some people like golf and some like boats, you know. I've always liked the water, liked to be around the river or a lake and just like boats. (Tom, 30-32, #25)

> I: Being that you spend a lot of time on the Salmon up there, ... what kind of special meaning does that area have for you? Does it have any particular meaning to you or importance to you? T: Oh, it's very special. It's hard to describe. It's a remote country and it's big and it's got good game in it. It's pretty and you can get on a horse and ride for days and not see another soul. It's pretty special. (Tom, 463-470, #26)

> But the Salmon River is an attraction for boaters because it's ... not blowing my own horn or nothing, but if you can successfully run the Salmon most people would probably call you a pretty good boater. (Tom, 760-761, #27)

> T: But ... I made my mark in there, I'll tell you. I took -- last year I went up the river, took my old boat [inaudible] and some of them float boaters stood up and they -- stood up in the boat and saluted. I: Wow, wow. S: He'd been off the river for a [inaudible] ... I: So there's some -- there's some respect then. T: Oh, yeah. (Tom and Sarah, 635-648, #28)

Salmon River Significant for Specific, Tangible Features

This category is comprised of 7 individuals across 6 interviews (Hank through Rick in the table of contents of the companion report). In responses characterizing the meaning or significance of the Salmon River, jet boaters in this category tended to focus on characteristics of the river itself rather than less tangible, more personal concepts like "home" that arise as a consequence of highly individualized experiences. In one case (Andy), personal experience was important, but primarily because that led to first hand knowledge that is necessary to successfully engage in fishing (such as knowledge of the "holes" where the fish live). Some of these respondents also referred to other areas that had equal or greater significance in their lives. Rick is a bit distinctive in this category as a relative new comer, having only owned a jet boat only for a year and a half. As a consequence it was hard to fit him into a category; however, his enthusiasm for specific features of the Salmon suggested this was an appropriate grouping. The following statements reflect the nature of the comments regarding the meaning and significance of the river to jet boaters in this category.

> I: Is there something about the Salmon that kind of sets it apart from other places that you've been, that makes it more special maybe ...? H: Yeah. It's a lot narrower gorge. I mean, everything is close to you. ... because the canyon is so steep and the gorge is so narrow. So chances of seeing animals in the evening or early morning is greater due to the topographical composure of the whole canyon. (Hank, 236-253, #29)

> I: Is there something about the Salmon that makes it different from other places? A: You mean the Salmon itself? Not really, no. Not as far as backcountry goes ... it's just one of the only places you can get a boat. ... it's where you go. ... I want to pick where I go. I: So it would still be important, the type of place that you're going. A: Not necessarily just where we're going, we know the areas and we keep going back the same way, just like when we were logging, the crew would always go where we're working to hunt, to get their wood, ... and anything else. ... I: And by that, the fact that you know the area, that makes it special more than anything? A: Yeah, it's like steelhead fishing, you gotta know the water,

> know the holes and where the fish live. You can go to a new stretch of water and if you haven't fished it, it takes you a while before you start catching fish. You have to know where the fish live. (Andy, 101-106, #30)

> I: Does that part of the Salmon then have any kind of special significance or meaning to you? ... S: Well, I like it better just because ... you don't have like as many rafters and stuff up there. ... it's just -- I'm going to say more private, more secluded. J: No, I like all the rivers. S: We have different places all over that we like and to pick a favorite would be impossible. ... I like the whole state. (Steve and Josh, 266-283, #31)

> I: ... does the Salmon itself up there have any special meaning to you ...? M: Well, it's not like I grew up on it or anything like that. There's other places that you could ask me about in Idaho that I could say, yeah, absolutely. (Mitch, 94-97, #32)

> I: ... is there something about it that makes it different other places? ... R: The scenery and there's not a lot of access to the river other than being on the river. ... I: So it's real remote in that sense. R: Yes. That's why we have jet boats is to get to those places. (Rick, 71-79, #33)

Salmon River of at Least Moderate Personal Significance

This category is comprised of 2 individuals across 2 interviews (Bob and Ted in the table of contents of the companion report). These individuals were a bit hard to classify. They had a long association with the Salmon (Bob first rode a jet boat on the Salmon in 1975 and Ted had boated on the river when growing up), yet their responses suggested a lower level of intensity in attachment than the previous categories. However this seemingly lower intensity could simply be an artifact of how these individuals express their thoughts and feelings about the river. Bob jet boats in the Spring and Fall to hunt and fish and occasionally jet boats in the summer for overnight social trips. When asked about the significance of the Salmon he noted the scenery and opportunity to see game. Ted had recently begun jet boating again on the river after a 20 year hiatus. He describes the Salmon just as a trip he does and the Salmon and the Snake as the best 2 he has ever been on, but couldn't "say it's the best one in the world".

> I: So does the Salmon itself, ... have any special significance to you...? B: I like the amount of timber and just the right amount of open hillsides to really make a nice experience.... And the one side of the river has pretty good timber on it and just the right amount of brush. And also open hillsides to see game. (Bob, 131-135, #34)

> I: Being as that you spent a lot of time on the Salmon over the years, does it -- does it have any different meaning to you than any of the other rivers you've been on? ... T: It's a trip we do. ... I can't say it's the best one in the world, but it and Hells Canyon have got to be the two best that I've ... ever been to. (Ted, 322-333, #35)

Salmon River of Relatively Low Personal Significance

This category is based on 4 individuals across 3 interviews (Ben and Jeff through Byron in the table of contents of the companion report). These individuals made specific statements that clearly demonstrated that the Salmon had much lower significance in their lives compared to the previous interview participants discussed. For example, Ben and Jeff boated on the lower Salmon, but only Jeff has been on the upper Salmon and that was 10 years ago on a jet-back trip. Among the reasons cited for lack of use were "inexperience, and other places that are more comfortable at the moment." (*115). Further they saw themselves as different from the locals for whom the Salmon was "their backyard" (*195). Denny had not boated the upper Salmon since 3 Fall fishing trips in 1982-1984. Byron describes himself as "not really a strong whitewater user" (115). He devotes more of his jet boating time to lakes especially around Cascades where he has a cabin.

Implications of Significance of Relationship to the Salmon

The concept of personal significance of the Salmon River has several implications. The first is in regard to the study. The goal of sampling was to ensure diversity so that the sample would capture the range of experiences/relationships to place among the population of Salmon jet boaters. In selecting the sample, observable characteristics (nature of jet boat use [operator, passenger, landowner] and organizational affiliation) were used to try and achieve diversity. The range in personal significance described in this section of the report (ranging from those for whom the Salmon appears to be an integral part of their life to those for whom the Salmon appears to have relatively low significance) indicates that the sample did successfully capture diversity among jet boaters in terms of relationship to place.

From a planning/management perspective, the issue of personal significance of the Salmon River also has implications. First, among some jet boaters there is a concern that they are perceived as people who are "really into let's put the horsepower in the boat and let's slam it up those rapids" (Byron, 133). However, even when looking just at the personal significance of the river, it is readily apparent that this does not begin to reflect the nature of the relationship for a segment of jet boaters. For the most attached jet boaters, the river and the ability to access the river provide a significant feeling of connectedness not only in their own lives, but also across generations. This issue has implications for how these jet boaters will react when they perceive they are being told that the primary reason for restricting jet boat access is because of the impact it has on floaters' experiences. They recognize that many of these floaters are one time users or at least can be characterized as visitors for whom the Salmon River and FCRNRW is more a concept than a place. In contrast, for the jet boaters showing the greatest attachment to place, the Salmon River is so much a part of their lives that describing them as visitors would be a mischaracterization of their relationship to place. Consider for example the following discussion by Matt and Sally:

> M: ... we chose to live here and do our thing here -- S: Because of the recreation. M: And now all of a sudden people that are making three times the wage we are are controlling what we can do. I: ... So it feels like the locals then are getting shut out? M: Well, we are. ... S: Well, Matt's self-employed and he works on jet boats and he builds jet boats. Well, pretty soon there's not going to be any jet boats around to work on because they're not going to let them on the river. So it affects our income too. (Matt, and Samantha, 503-536, #36)

This is not to say that there are not floaters for whom the Salmon has similar level of significance. However, underlying some of the interview participants' comments seems to be the idea that the planning is emphasizing rafters' interests as a consequence of the numbers of that user population. It appears the planning process would be seen as more legitimate to interview participants if there were evidence that the issue of "significance" of the relationship, in addition to numbers of various types of users, is also somehow taken into consideration in the planning process.

Another implication of "significance of relationship" for planning relates to the issue of what the planning process communicates to river users regarding managers' perceptions of them. Both in informal conversations with jet boaters in the first phase of the study and in statements made by participants in this study, it appears that at least some of the jet boaters perceive that managers, in the course of the decision making process, are accusing jet boaters as a population of users of not being good stewards (leaving litter, etc.). Considering the depth of significance the Salmon has to a segment of the jet boat population, if such an impression arises during the planning process, it will likely be taken as an affront and met with feelings of disbelief that ultimately generate suspicion and mistrust. This in turn will inhibit the opportunity to build a constructive relationship between the Forest Service and this user group. Awareness of the significance of the Salmon River to these users and what statements made in the course of the planning process might communicate to river users (or how statements might be perceived) warrants careful consideration.

Access

Access is a key focus of discussion in the legislative history behind the Frank Church River of No Return Wilderness. During the course of the interviews, it also emerged as a key concept for understanding important dimensions of the relationship to the Salmon River for many jet boaters. Three distinct themes related to the concept of access are presented: (1) jet boats as a means of accessing some other value; (2) access concerns from the perspective of local river users; and (3) the value of jet boats as a means of access for the young, elderly, and people with disabilities.

Jet Boats as a Means of Accessing Some Other Value

When asked if he thought the Forest Service had any misconceptions about jet boaters, Byron replied "I think if they had watched them a few years ago, and I'm talking probably 10 years ago as far as a generation of people, they would have. Because I think a lot more of the guys that I knew then were really into let's put the horsepower in the boat and let's slam it up those rapids" (129-133). However it was clear from comments made by jet boaters that there currently is a very different set of values and experiences sought through jet boating among Salmon River boaters. While jet boating was usually described as an important dimension of the experience (as indicated in the section "Dimensions of Experience" presented later), there was also a tendency to describe jet boats simply as a means of access for some other activity or value.

> It's just a means to transport yourself and that's what works. I mean, some people kind of think that everybody that wants a jet boat does it because of all the power and the speed and all that. But that's not the reason that we got one. (Linda, 245-247, #37)
>
> Well, for me, the hunting is the thing. Let me put it this way, I certainly enjoy the jet boating and the overall trip would probably lose something were it not for getting up through the rapids and that kind of thing, but it wouldn't spoil the trip for me if we didn't jet boat in. (Mitch, 36-37, #38)
>
> I: ... what initially attracted you to jet boating? J: Just fishing. Our whole family's been into fishing, and camping. That's our way of travel around here if you're going to go up and down the canyon. (Jason, 315-319, #39)

> It just -- something sucked me in to loving [the Salmon River country]. That was before I ever rode in a jet boat and the jet boat opened it up to me and let me use it more that way. (Ken, 633-634, #40)

The last excerpt presented above suggests another issue related to jet boat access. Comments from some of the interview participants suggested that they saw jet boats as providing opportunities to engage the river in ways other means of access do not permit as indicated in the following excerpts.

> B: It allows you to go up river instead of down river. Which is ... strangely enough.... I don't think many people realize, ... it's one thing to go in at one spot and come out at another. But when you go up it, then go down it, then up it again, whatever, every trip is a new adventure. You learn a lot more about ... the area you're in and the environment you're in. And that lends itself ... it's a lot more user friendly when you come right down to it. (Ben, 36-53, #41)

> J: [This year] we four wheeled in the snow. We went in the [inaudible] and we stayed on the river. C: It was wonderful. ... and it snowed about 20 inches while we was in there ... [but] it wasn't near as thrilling [as being in a jet] boat and being able to drift down. ... and fish and see the sheep. We were in a spot we couldn't see the sheep. So it was different this year. I: So you felt -- without having the boat you felt like maybe you were a little bit more limited? J: Oh, yeah, totally because you only have a half a mile of river that you can get on, period.... We didn't get to see any sheep this time ... C: It's raining. There was nothing to do but sit in the tent. In a boat, you can get in the boat and get under the top and -- J: Fish. C: -- go look at the river and drift fish. (Jason and Cathy, *400-431, #42)

> T: [When you operate a jet boat, you get to] decide where you're going to stop, where you're going picnic, you know. You take your time. When you're on a float .. excursion, they control it. They tell you when to eat, they tell you where you're going to stop. It's not as fun. (Tammy, 423-438, #43)

Access Related Issues from the Perspective of Local River Users

Most interviews were conducted with individuals from the Boise, Lewiston, or Riggins/Whitebird/Grangeville area. Jet boaters in these regions generally seemed to view the Salmon River as a local resource. This geographic dimension of relationship to place seemed to shape some of these jet boaters' concerns with respect to access. As the excerpts below indicate, some of these local users were concerned about protecting opportunities to access the area over short periods of times and/or opportunities to decide spontaneously at the last minute to take advantage of a sudden opening in their schedule. Some of the jet boaters interviewed indicated that the current permitting system was not flexible enough to allow these kinds of opportunities. To have to choose in March a day to jet boat in July seemed more like planning a vacation than a weekend or day trip. Additionally, this aspect of the permit system was seen by some as problematic in light of how variability in river conditions (water level, debris following storms, timing of fish runs) affects jet boating.

> J: I'd sure hate to see it be restricted or have to put a permit in January 1 when you don't know when you're going to want to go up there. Some people go up there when the fishing's good. I: So having the permit season in that sense would kind of limit your flexibility? J: It definitely would limit the flexibility. You just hate to see it. ... if you have to pick on

> January 1 when you're going to fish in October or September, you know, it's not the same. They say the fishing's good, or the ice is going out and you go up and you go fishing if the fish continue. (John, *430-441, #44)

> J: As a working man, I used to use my boat for relaxation. And we'd get up Saturday morning and if we didn't have something going we'd go down the river to go fishing for a couple hours, all day, whatever we had time. I don't have time to fill out a permit and -- I mean, that's like going on vacation. ... C: Fill out a permit and that day you get up and it's the worst weather, you've got junk floating in the river. You can't take your boat in that. (Jason and Cathy, 1710-1716, #45)

> We used to go [on the Snake] in August all the time. [Now] you got to get a permit and stuff and we're not sure what weekend we're going to go because we have to work around the fair and 4-H and all this kid stuff. So we're not doing that anymore. (Andy, 86-88, #46)

> I guess the spontaneity of being able to go when you want to go is the biggest thing. That's the main thing. In our situation we can't plan ahead for three days. (John, 516-518, #47)

> Because there's a lot of times you'll get [somebody] saying, let's go, last minute. We ain't got three months to put a permit in, or two months or however long they want. I don't even know how long they want. But you can't decide at the last minute to go like you used to. (Ted, 848-857, #48)

> J: Like I say, you know, we have full-time jobs, 50, 60 hour a week jobs and you can't just take off for a week any time and go. We can take a two or three day and make a mini vacation out of it like that, and it's real nice to be able to go up the Snake River and the Salmon for a couple of days and get away from it all. (Josh, *48-59, #49)

> Last year we had to go up on a recreation trip ..., we had to go when the water was just right. We had to ... be on ... a day's notice of when we were leaving, within 48 hours. ... Because when you do the upper part, the water has to be just about right. Underneath some of those bridges we only had maybe two foot of clearance on that upper part to go underneath the bridges and underneath the cable cars. (Doug, *218-243, #50)

Access for the Young, Elderly, and People With Disabilities

Many of the jet boaters interviewed also were rafters. Some of these chose jet boats in part because of time considerations as suggested in excerpts presented above. Other jet boaters are like Daniel who indicated that while he "enjoyed rafting a lot," he liked jet boating even better. And some jet boaters are like John who characterize rafting as "a different option that we don't opt for" (75). However, in addition to these groups, many interview participants saw jet boats as a means of providing access for the disabled, elderly, and young who might not otherwise be able to experience the area. For a number of interview participants, this perspective did not reflect mere platitudes or some hypothetical rationale. As the excerpts below indicate, this issue has genuine relevance to their own life situations. Further, one of the passengers interviewed noted what he described as a commitment among jet boat owners to make opportunities available to older members of the community.

> T: Last time [Howard, her husband and a jet boat owner who is disabled] floated I told him

no more. H: I went through that rapid down there ... with that little boat of mine, and I was getting tired when I got down there.... And all of a sudden flipped my little tiny raft ... the last rock, it's kind of a nest turn and there's a big rock before it. It's going the other way. Well, I made it on this side ... short of the rock and went over the waterfall and had to float it out, you know. Of course, I had a good, expensive life preserver and I done that three times, got out of that raft in different rapids in the couple years that I had it. And I decided that maybe I can't control it good enough. I'm going to drown if I keep messing with that. So I put an ad in the paper and sold it because I was afraid ... It's [rafting] fun and you really get into that stuff. But I thought, you know, a guy would live a lot longer if I got rid of that thing. I can control my jet boat. That little raft I couldn't. (Howard and Tammy, 469-501, #51)

T: He ... told us right to our face that basically because my husband's handicapped, he's already -- what was it he said? 'You're incapacitated anyways, so what difference does it make to you?' H: Yeah. 'You can't go up there because, you know --' T: 'You're handicapped.' H: '-- the river's not for you so you don't need to be up there anyway.' He told us right to our face in front of a whole bunch of people. ... And I was the only disabled person there, trying to help, you know, talking about -- well, if they're going to shut the river off, what are we going to do with all these disabled people? There's 43 million of them and a lot of them ain't even classed disabled. They're just old people, you know. ... And they're going to shut it all down to us people too. Boy, it made me mad. T: I was furious. (Howard and Tammy, 605-631, #52)

[My wife asked] "Well, why's he calling you?" I says, "I don't know. He wanted to talk to me." I says, "I'm going to go talk to the man." And she was totally upset. Says, "they're just trying to keep us off the river." You know, she's got rheumatoid arthritis now, so she's limited to what she can do. ... but that's the first thing that hits your mind, they're trying to take another right away. (Gary, 1376-1383, #53)

And basically the only way that handicapped people can enjoy it is by boat. And a lot of other people boat, women and kids and things like that ... today I wouldn't be able to go after that ram that I did in 1995. So, wouldn't even attempt it. (Hank, 799-805, #54)

And then when we would take my parents or his parents, one time we took them to Mackay Bar and spent the night there and what a treat to have them see the sheep along the river. They were both old at the time and my dad had cancer. (Alicia, 242-243, #55)

J: Well, there's a different aspect of that altogether too. It's like when you take your ... Dad and Mom up there. There was no way for them to get in there, they couldn't float in. They could've flown in, but by going in there and having a boat, they were able to fish areas that they would've never been able to fish and see the country and see the sheep, just the whole experience. It was great. (John and Amy, *387-399, #56)

I think that Jim and some of the guys who have equipment recognize that and they actually do their best to take ... older folks from around the community that we maybe know from a long time ago and people that just can't otherwise get up there. That's true with not only the jet boats but also the airplanes. (Troy, *152-156, #57)

Meaning of Wilderness

Wilderness is a social concept rather than a tangible, physically identifiable entity like the Salmon River. While there are some culturally shared understandings of what wilderness is and the Wilderness Act represents an attempt to express these culturally shared meanings, the meaning of wilderness still varies substantially across individuals. The purpose of this section of the report is to explore the meaning of wilderness to the interview participants. Because the study did not employ a random sampling approach that would permit generalizations about the distribution of various meanings across the population of jet boaters, no attempt is made to quantify the percentage of respondents expressing various meanings. Instead, as with the entire report, the goal of the analysis is to provide an in-depth understanding of the range and nature of jet boaters' thoughts and comments with respect to the concept of wilderness.

Wilderness-like Characterizations of the Salmon River Country

Questions in the interview covered a variety of issues ranging from the nature of the experience to the distinguishing characteristics of the area to the meaning of wilderness. In responses to these questions, interview participants frequently characterized the Salmon River and surrounding area using terms or concepts frequently associated with wilderness as defined in the Wilderness Act. As the data excerpts presented below indicate, the jet boaters interviewed tended to value the Salmon River corridor as a relatively roadless area that generally lacked development, and was managed in a wild state. They also valued the area as a place where one would encounter fewer people, although with the exception of two interviews, the term solitude was not literally used in reference to the experience or the area. Comments indicated that they also valued less tangible concepts associated with wilderness such as remoteness. And beyond this, some of the comments, particularly those relating to challenge of jet boating on the upper Salmon River, suggest that, for the interview participants, jet boat experiences on the river promote a sense of humility and respect for the area that more philosophical discussions of the value of wilderness often discuss. However, in addition to the types of comments just referred to, a few respondents indicated that they either did not think of the area as wilderness for various reasons or that the concept of wilderness was not relevant to their thoughts about that area. The following excerpts illustrate the wilderness-related concepts used to describe the Salmon River by interview participants.

Roadlessness/Lack of development

> I: ... does the Salmon itself have any special meaning to you aside from maybe some other places. R: Well, it's a wild river and I think for Idaho to have a wild river run through it like that, it has a lot of meaning, you know, getting in the backcountry, seeing the wildlife. (Rick, 102-104, #58)
>
> I: In general ... does the Salmon itself have any special meaning for you, that comes to mind when you think of the Salmon? ... A: It's undammed. I always think that's the way it's always been, one of those places that's probably pretty much the way it's always been, so that's really special. (Amy, *183-201, #59)
>
> M: ... like I was saying earlier, they have no facilities anywhere. ... K: And that's the way I like it. M: Yeah. K: I don't want to see bathrooms everywhere ... I liked Pittsburgh Landing way better before they worked on it than I do now. M: Oh, absolutely. K: They go into the wilderness and they put all this concrete and pavement and all this stuff that doesn't belong there. F: Ruin it. ... K: If they put up an old wooden outhouse every few miles up

the river, that would maybe be fine, you know. For the ladies it works a lot better. But this billions of dollars they spend on stuff that we don't want, I don't know where it comes from. I don't know anybody that likes it, even the floaters. ... J: And if you go after all those modern conveniences, you don't go to the Frank Church Wilderness looking for it or the Hells Canyon looking for it, you go to Las Vegas. And so be it. I mean, let's keep the two segregated. (Matt, Ken, Jack, undetermined female, 196-231, #60)

J: ... I'm glad they didn't build a road back there, you know. ... I'd rather go up there and jet boat than I would from here to Riggins. ... it's the same water, the same river. And I've ran Riggins a lot of times but I just ... I'd rather go down, you know, [inaudible river name] with no road or I'd rather go above Vinegar Creek. (Jason, 602-611, #61)

There's no highways along it, number one. You're not going to see a bunch of cars running in and people and stuff. And, you know, there is a few places that a road goes down to it, but not that many. And if you don't like it there you can go down another half mile and you're away from it. (Gary, *590-601, #62)

K: Well, and if somebody proposed to build a road up it any farther or down it any farther, I would be up in arms along with most everybody I know. J: Right. K: I mean, we needed a road up there so far and that's happened, years ago was put in. But any more I don't want to see that. (Ken and Jack, 686-695, #63)

Part of it is the river, but part of it is where you go. I mean it's absolutely pristine up there. Just the wildlife that you don't see anywhere else and the quiet and the beauty. And I would have to say that we're jet boaters, but we appreciate it like any rafter would. ... the peace and quiet. (Alicia, 206-210, #64)

Opportunity to Have an Experience in an Area with Lower Numbers of People

Well, you get away from the crowd is what it boils down to. Even if you're going fishing. You're not going to have a bunch of people around. (Gary, 322-324, #65)

S: There's not as many people. J: Yeah, there's hardly any people. ... S: ... You don't have as many drivers can go up there as lower, so you get fewer chances to go up there. (Steve and Josh, 229-244, #66)

Well, I think the easiest way to describe it is the fact that we grew up in this environment and we spent a lot of time fishing and hunting locally. And then maybe part of the deal was that as we were growing up and seeing other people in our fishing areas then, we just moved outward a little bit. So probably part of the thing is just a little bit of an escape from lots of people. However, the Salmon now is getting fairly busy. (Troy, 104-106, #67)

Remoteness

I: Okay, is there something about the Salmon River, especially that upper portion there, that makes it different from other places you've been? T: Actually there is, it's pretty remote, of course it's roadless so it's pretty remote country .... (Troy, *80-84, #68)

S: And you get up on that upper Salmon River -- J: Oh, you're a hundred miles from no where, literally. S: You get fifteen, twenty miles down below Corn Creek and now you get hurt ... J: You got to get through the Whitewater Ranch before you can get out. S: And if there's not a jet boater, yeah, you're in trouble. J: And it's almost another twenty to Mackay

Bar from there. S: Sure. J: I mean, you know, you're talking a day or two to get anywhere. S: You could die of a simple wound. (Steve and Josh, 652-668, #69)

I: Being that you spend a lot of time on the Salmon up there, ... what kind of special meaning does that area have for you? Does it have any particular meaning to you or importance to you? T: Oh, it's very special. It's hard to describe. It's a remote country and it's big and it's got good game in it. It's pretty and you can get on a horse and ride for days and not see another soul. It's pretty special. (Tom, 463-470, #70)

Humility/Respect

L: ... when you look at that water, if you've ever ridden up through a rapid ... where the waves are higher than the top of the boat, you soon get a healthy respect for what kind of water you're in. D: Yeah, that will eat you up. L: And you just better know what you're doing. (Linda and David, 1846-1852, #71)

J: Because that river has got a lot of power and when it gets you down it stomps on you and it stomps on you fast. ... C: I've even seen him a lot of times pull over ... and get out of the boat and walk around and look it all over before he ever attempts to -- J: Even though I've ran that rapid for 20 years -- C: Every year it changes. J: Rocks roll in, rocks roll out. And if I pull up there and something don't look right, there's nothing wrong -- I'd rather go to shore and think about it for a little bit than in the middle of a rapid think about it. J: And it's just something that you have to do. (Jason and Cathy, 1366-1395, #72)

You know, you go out and you're just in wilderness, ... there's no roads down there. If you break down you're at the mercy of the river. ... And that's what makes it neat. We have to take our survival stuff with us. (Howard, 74-88, #73)

That Salmon, you know, that country doesn't forgive. ... I mean topographically it doesn't forgive. It's -- if you're a foot in that canyon, why, it's somewhere between no man's land and hell. I'll tell you, I've hunted sheep in there and it's -- it's tough. (Hank, 778-794, #74)

Area Not Perceived as Wilderness

I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness area up there, does that seem to make it any different ... Do you think about it differently? C: I don't think so, huh-uh. No, because we see all kinds of horseback riders packing, people walking, other boaters, floaters. I don't think I really think of it as a wilderness. A thrill, you know, of being in this wilderness area, I don't. (Cathy, 127-139, #75)

I: Does the fact that ... the river ... runs through wilderness ... make a difference to you one way or the other? D: Probably not. J: Never really thought about it. D: I mean I don't think there would be any more people or any less people. A: I don't either because it's not easy to get up there. I: So in terms of your experience, you don't necessarily think of that whole thing when you're going up there? A: Not really. D: Naw, because there's places I mean literally that you can drive in there like you can drive to Mackay Bar. You'll see people that'll drive in from Grangeville, they drive down, they camp, they fish there, they walk across the bridge there on the beach, just another access to get in there. (Derrick, John, and Amy, 164-181, #76)

Positive Values Associated With Wilderness

When asked if the fact that the Salmon River runs through wilderness carries any positive meaning, a number of the interview participants indicated that it does. However, those seeing the positive aspects seemed to be referring to the physical character of the area rather than to "designated wilderness" as specifically noted in the last two excerpts presented below.

> I: Does the fact that it runs through a wilderness make it different to you one way or the other? B: Well, it makes it better. I: It does? Just kind of makes it seem more special or just more primitive in some ways or -- B: Just more away from people. (Bob, 115-124, #77)

> I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness ... make it any different to you one way or another? H: Well, I think you appreciate it more, you know. I guess you'd say you admire it more or something like that. Or you ... get a certain feel for it because it is... so -- well, it is primitive up the Salmon. You've got Mackay Bar and Shepp Ranch and other ranches along the way, but ... in between them ... essentially it is wild. (Hank, 317-325, #78)

> I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness area up in that section ... make a difference to you ...? M: Oh yeah. I mean it does because ... it gets back to this hunting thing where those are backcountry units and the hunting seasons are different and not as much pressure and that kind of stuff. Plus ... it's just not the same for me to go through an area when you're hunting or looking for wildlife or whatever if there's roads along the river bank, why would you be on the river? It takes away from the experience. So, yeah, it makes a difference. (Mitch, 86-92, #79)

> I: ... the fact that it runs through the wilderness area, does that make a difference to you either way? R: Well, I think it keeps a lot of people out of there. I: Okay, so in terms of just keeping the numbers down? R: Yes. There's not a lot of people coming down in their cars or in boats. I: Does the fact that it's got that "wilderness designation" matter one way or the other to you? R: No. (Rick, 85-96, #80)

> I: Does the fact that that section of the Salmon up there runs through a wilderness ... make a difference to you one way or the other? A: Oh, it probably makes some difference because you don't have the competition with other fishermen and stuff. Yeah, it would probably make some difference. Not a wilderness per se, if it wasn't a wilderness but [still] wasn't a roaded, you know, that wouldn't make any difference. ... I: So the fact that it's wilderness in quotes isn't maybe a big deal as much as just the fact that it's remote. A: Yeah. (Andy, 128-138, #81)

No Additional Value From Designated Wilderness

Along the lines of the last two excerpts presented above, a number of interview participants also indicated that wilderness designation did not add any additional value. There appeared to be two primary factors underlying this response. The first rationale was related to the appearance of the area. As a specific place, the Salmon River country was often described as having unique features and characteristics (see discussion of the unique characteristics of the Salmon River in the bio-sketches in the companion report). However for natives of Idaho, as a representative of a "class of places (in this case "designated wilderness"), the Salmon river country was not seen as different from much of the rest of Idaho - mountains and timber and backcountry. However, one of these Idaho residents did note that this perception might be different for people who do not live around wilderness all the time. The second rationale sometimes accompanying this type of response was that wilderness designation is of relatively recent origin and is a political designation that really does not change a thing in terms of the physical character of the area or the experience it provides.

> ... we've always lived in mountains and timber, and it's always had that feel. The same thing with that they're calling wilderness. It all feels the same to me. It's just why we like Idaho. (Linda, 944-947, #82)

> But then we live around the wilderness all the time. It might mean something more to somebody that's not - it obviously does. But to me it doesn't mean anything. (David, * 760-796, #83)

> I: Does the fact that the Salmon runs through a wilderness area ... make a difference to you one way or the other? R: Probably not. I guess I wasn't aware that the Frank Church Wilderness Area ran on both sides of the river there. ... there's a lot of areas like that that you can run in but it's not wilderness... (Roger, 118-122, #84)

> I: ... does the fact ... that the river goes through a wilderness ... make a difference ...? D: Don't make a difference to me. ... It's a river. It's a river that's got a reputation. ... The wilderness don't make no difference. The wilderness, you know -- the river didn't make no difference between Lewiston and Riggins so it didn't make no difference between Vinegar Creek and Corn Creek. It's just a river. You've got a highway along it right there at Riggins. It's just a challenging river. ... You feel just as part of it at Riggins as you do at Corn Creek. (Doug, *639-657, #85)

> I: Does the fact that it runs through a wilderness, does that enter your mind when you're in there? ... D: To me it doesn't have a thing to do with that. I retired from the Forest Service, so I've been in the woods all my life. But going behind that sign doesn't change anything. If that sign wasn't there, it wouldn't change my experience at all. G: It would still be the same. D: I mean, because there's lots of wild places and I like them just as well. (David and Gary, 744-759, #86)

> I: Does the fact that the Salmon River runs through a wilderness in that portion -- does that make it different to you one way or the other? T: Well, not really. It's nice that it's wilderness and it's being protected, but I ran up there when it was called a primitive area. It hadn't been designated wilderness yet. And you [if] can't look out there and see that that's wild and wilderness country, why, -- you don't need a name tied onto it to tell you, you know. (Tom, 423-428, #87)

> I: ... does the fact that the Salmon runs through ... a wilderness area make any difference ...? B: Absolutely not. Because it's a manipulated, political wilderness, and I remember it when it was considered a primitive area, it was open. And some of the famous ... guides and recreationists such as Dell Robe and Dobb Smith that took people safely through there, with great experiences. ... And ... the whole river was surveyed for a railroad, back in the 1890's whatever. ... this wilderness is something that's come at a late date that's interfered more than its helped.... But I don't want to see it developed either. (Ben, 179-187, #88)

Negative Values Associated With Wilderness Designation

As suggested by the last excerpt presented above, for some of the interview participants, "designated" wilderness carried negative values. These negative values ranged from attracting more people to the area, to losing rights, to locking people out of the area, to increasing intolerance and polarization in management of an area.

> D: ... I think the designation sometimes actually hurts an area. ... It's an attraction to people, just like Yellowstone Park ... they've loved that to death. ... I think maybe it would have been better if we just left it alone. You know, IF they would have left it alone, which is not likely. G: It's the same area regardless of what it's designated. It don't change. ... D: ... actually when I go behind the sign I feel like I've lost some of my rights. L: I feel that way too. G: I feel the same way. D: You can't do everything you could do otherwise. I: What ways? ... G: Well, like you can't use a chainsaw, something like that there.... D: We've burned yellow pine trees out of the trail when they're that big around because you can't get them out any other [way] ... L: Well, then you always feel like somebody's watching over your shoulder ready to take it away from you so that you can't use it at all if it's wilderness area. (David, Gary, and Linda, 760-796, #89)

> K: We have this wilderness and everybody is supposed to be able to use it. But they're making it so difficult to use it unless you want to walk from here to Chamberlain Basin. I mean, if you can't fly in and you can't jet boat in then you've got one choice of maybe floating through it. But ... for people that don't have a lot of money that they can spend two weeks in the summer on that river, you can't get in and out of it that quickly any other way. So if we're going to have a wilderness and lock it clear up where nobody can really use it except the rich or the outfitters, then I'm against wilderness. M: It's not worth having. K: And I wouldn't say I'm against wilderness for any other reason. I love it and I want to protect it. But if I can't get in there, you know.... (Ken and Matt, 321-343, #90)

> D: I think it was a primitive area in my day. There was wilderness, it was primitive area. And we just didn't allow motorized vehicles and that was about it. Everybody took care of it. The rangers lived on the district, so they came out there and they'd ... help clean trail.... And it was more ... family oriented. ... We took care of the trails in those days. ... Well, it's just too bad those signs were taken down because ... we're not Rambos. We're not designed to be survivalists and that's what I think the Forest Service is wanting to try to teach you in the backcountry.... But I don't believe in that. ... A: Well, the trails aren't even maintained so you don't even know where the trails are back there. D: ... And me and my daughter rode all the way from ??? River clear down to the Copenhagen. ... The trails aren't marked, ... you don't even know where to cross the rivers at. ... I about lost her, the horse rolled on her in the river .... she was 12 years old. (Doug and Alicia, *298-343, #91).

> They want us all to sleep at night feeling good that the wilderness is out there, and the forest, but we can't touch it. Look but don't touch. Now they're not even going to let us look at it. (Steve, 618-620, #92)

> B: But as we've seen in our society, we've become more intolerant of one another and ... I think this whole thing with this wilderness issue was part of the deal that's done some of that. ... J: ... and the polarization. If it's not wilderness, then its gonna be clearcut or strip mined, you know. There's nothing in between. B: Right, and they're always afraid if it isn't... protected then it would be developed. And that was the beauty of a primitive area. It was areas set aside to be evaluated for society's needs in the future. And to me that was a lot

more politically viable attitude to take. (Ben and Jeff, 479-489, #93)

Human Past, Presence, and Sense of Community on the Salmon

While most of the interview participants characterized the Salmon River country using terminology consistent with the Wilderness Act as noted previously, there was one feature of the area emphasized by many of the respondents, especially those showing the strongest attachment to place, that differed greatly from the Wilderness Act. The Wilderness Act defines wilderness in part as an area "where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." In contrast, for some of the interview participants a place could have human inhabitants and still be described as wilderness. Also, many of them showed a keen awareness and interest in past human settlement of the Salmon River country. They were interested in the stories associated with this history of settlement (including the mining) and one group described that human history as part of their heritage. And for some, part of that history of settlement was literally a part of their own lives in a time before wilderness designation. Also, for some of the interview participants, the history of power boating was a part of the history and culture of the river. In addition to the past, there was a keen awareness of human presence on the river in current times. The Salmon River was a place where humans not only lived, but where some still made a living. And for some of the interview participants there was a strong sense of community among river residents and river users.

Wilderness as a Place Where People Live

> [Dixie, Idaho] that thing has been wilderness since I was a little kid and my dad would go up there hunting all the time. And you got a little place, 18 people year round residents. Now it's probably built up to 50 or 100 year round residents and the houses are going in at 20 and 30 a year or more. ... That place up there was a primitive area and I bought my cabin up there so I could be alone. And in ten years it jumped from, you know, from a beautiful place to pig city. (Howard, *1351-1371, #94)

> D: Even when I was ... about thirteen or fourteen years old, ... when I was back in Cabin Creek my goal was someday ... when I marry and I have children I will come back and would spend some time in the wilderness. And that's why we home schooled. ... When I finally got them back in there, the first of March I left at the airport and we landed at Mackay Bar and we home schooled there. (Doug, *526-536, #95)

History of Humans on the Salmon

> L: Well, and then just to realize that however many years ago people settled there. They lived there and made their livings there and -- G: They went in on horseback or afoot and settled it. L: And they didn't leave. I mean, they stayed. G: Didn't have no way to get back out either, you know. There's some tough old boogers have been there. L: They lived there and it's just awesome to go back and realize it. It humbles you to realize that they lived there. G: And you can see some of the structures and stuff they built by hand, you know, out of rock or hand-hewn logs. It's amazing to see it. (Linda and Gary, 610-630, #96)

> M: So there's a lot of history all over the place. Each and every one of those cricks up there has some significant -- S: Story. M: -- thing that went on. (Matt and Samantha, *734-748, #97)

> Some of the old mines that are down there are really fascinating.... During the Depression

these people mined there and there's, if you know where to look, they got old cables ... And we'd just go down through there. And then the China diggings that are down there, they'd pile all these rocks up.... Yeah, there's a lot of history there, you know, that is really important. (Howard and Tammy, *116-125, #98)

S: History is important, period. M: Well, and it's kind of our heritage in a way. ... (Sally, *757-786, #99)

Rex bought a ranch back there in the Middle Fork.... When I was nine years old, Rex asked me if I'd go back there and help him hay and drive tractor. ... Rex would take me up there as soon as school was out. It was always within about three days of when school was out and brought me back three days before school started. ... We did most of the haying, putting up the hay for the horses and stuff like that. And then the dudes would show up to go salmon fishing. One of my jobs was to walk up to the big hole there at Thomas Creek and help bring back the salmon that the dudes caught and then of course we'd give the horses hay. ... The only outfitter that I can remember that was running the river, the Middle Fork was Lee Backus. When he came down it was quite a deal we got to see some other outside people and the outside world. Most days the telephone was working and we'd call the lookouts and talk to the people up and down the river, the Tuckers, backpackers, Forest Service, it was quite a deal to see somebody, you know, invite them in. Like I said, you couldn't get radio reception during the day time but after the sun was set and the air was heavy, you'd get radio stations out of Boise. So that was pretty ... much our lives. (Doug, 7-44, #100)

History of River is History of Power Boating

Jet boating, power boating on the Salmon River is part of its history.... people have power boated on the river almost as long -- well, not as long as they've rafted, ... because .. wooden barges came down the river ... in some of the pretty early days. So ... it's been power boated since I think the late 1940s. And possibly before that.... a lot of history there. (Daniel, 458-476, #101)

... like I say, the history of the Salmon has been the history of boating. Actually there were power boats on that for years and years and years. (Jeff, *157-161, #102)

J: Not many people know it but the actual jet drive was developed in New Zealand, but the total package, the welded aluminum jet boat with the jet pump on it, was developed on the Salmon River. ... B: We're probably talkin' the lower Salmon around the Riggins-Whitebird area, but nevertheless on the Salmon River. (Jeff and Ben *431-457, #103)

On that particular river, I think [jet boats are] part of the culture now. It sounds silly, but I think they are. (Mitch, 239-240, #104)

Continued Human Presence/Sense of Community

There's a lot of friends and people that I've met over the years up and down the river that, like when you're at your house and go see your neighbors, it's kind of the same thing. It's a fun community. That's what it is. Heinz's up at Five Mile Bar, my [relative] who's a physician takes care of his wife's asthma and [he] also takes care of Mike down at Shepp Ranch and the Heinz's in return are always cutting us wood or taking care of different things. It goes back and forth as you would with any neighbor in a neighborhood. That's a lot of the reason that we go up there is to see people. (Roger, 65-70, #105)

> You know it's kind of almost like a little community. When you're standing there on the river bank and somebody says, oh yeah, Joe Blow from the Polly Bemis or whatever they got some hunters in this week. It's kind of a little community out there and it's kind of meaningful. (Mitch, 98-101, #106)

> H: Like ... when we was with [person's name] and we come down river and he explained to us about ... that singer, Wayne Newman? T: Newton. H: ... He's got a cabin right on Salmon River.... It's right across from that ... one ranch, if it's the Shepp. ... And anyway ... they said that's Wayne Newman's cabin.... and we was talking to this one woman and she said she went down there and she knows he drinks whiskey, see? And so she searched all over ... because whiskey drinkers stash their whiskey.... And, by God, she finally found one of his stashes. Had a shot of whiskey ..., you know. ... T: I think he sold it because he quit drinking and he sobered up and stuff. H: Somehow this ... woman, they rode their horses in there. See Dixie is just a hop, skip and a jump down the Salmon River and they take the horses in there, you know, and ride down there and spend the night. ... he's a, you know, pretty important guy... Now that, to me, that's pretty important. I got to see Wayne Newman's cabin, you know. (Howard and Tammy, *297-356, #107)

> B: And a lot of people live up there that, you know, about the only time you get to see them is once or twice a year. Either that or talk to them on the radio. D: Yeah, it's [the Salmon River] more or less like a road it seems to me. (Bart and David, *265-273, #108)

> ... the outfitters, they use it for business purposes. (Sally, 1171, #109)

Summary - Meaning of Wilderness to Interview Participants

In summary, these responses suggest that the interview participants value the physical character of the Salmon River canyon. Although varying terminology is used, the physical characteristics frequently identified include remote, undeveloped, primitive, pristine, wild, and roadless. All of these characteristics are frequently associated with wilderness as defined in the Wilderness Act. In fact, wilderness is sometimes used in descriptions of the area. However "designated wilderness" does not seem to be an appropriate concept for describing the meaning of the Salmon River country to these interview participants. When asked about designated "wilderness," some respondents, especially those whose relationship with the Salmon River country predates the FCRNRW point out that designation is a recent event that has not changed the character of the area. Others seem to struggle to see the relevance of this designation because as a "class" of places, the Salmon River country is no different from many other wild places in Idaho; by and large that is the nature of Idaho in their view. Overall, responses suggest that interview participants primarily relate to the Salmon River country as a specific place rather than as a representative of a class of places (designated wilderness). And as a place, the Salmon River country has one characteristic that markedly differs from designated wilderness. As defined in the Wilderness Act, wilderness is an area "where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." In contrast, most of the interview participants view the Salmon River country to be a place with an extensive human past (which is of great value to many of them) and continued human presence. And to some of those who know it best, it is a place that still retains a sense of community. And to some of the interview participants, boating in general and power boating in particular are a part of the history and culture of this place.

Use Ethic - Responsible Shared Use

Some of the interview participants expressed concerns about the nature and direction of Forest Service regulations regarding management of river users. For example, one individual expressed concern that, in an era where timber harvesting had declined in importance, the agency was perhaps simply trying to create jobs for themselves or at the very least was focusing on controlling people rather than managing the resource. A concern voiced by other respondents was that the Forest Service was losing sight of why it was created; was acting as if the agency rather than the public owned the land; and was taking actions that amounted to locking the public out.

> Before the Forest Service ... used to sell timber and manage timber and they had something to do. And now that they don't sell timber anymore ... and have timber sales, they want to manage people. And so they created theirself a job by managing people... (Jason, *616-635, #110)
>
> They don't want to work. They want to go up and regulate people, control people. But ... if they want to manage the river, they should manage it and clean up things like that, improve the boat ramps. (Jason, *1215-1228, #111)
>
> ... and personally my thought is that the Forest Service has lost the total vision of why we, as the American public, instigated a Forest Service. We wanted an agency to take care of the land for ALL of us, and they're not taking care of it for ALL of us. They're segregating groups and it almost is like they consider this property theirs, and if you go in there you're going onto THEIR property. Well, that's completely wrong. It's MINE. I just hired these people to take care of it. And I think maybe they're losing a little bit of the focus of what that was originally. (Jack, 354-360, #112)
>
> ... But I don't want to exclude my children from being able to come home. ... It's very special. We don't' want to be locked out. (Doug, *480-486, #113)

While concerns about management of people like those reflected above were sometimes expressed, most interview participants, recognized the need to develop regulations regarding use levels as a consequence of increasing visitor numbers. With regard to float boat use, there was not complete agreement about whether or not the current use level is too high. With regard to jet boat use, none of the interview participants expressed the view that jet boat use had reached its maximum acceptable capacity on the upper Salmon. However, at least in principle, many interview participants expressed the belief that there was some maximum "capacity" that should not be exceeded on the upper Salmon and that regulations to restrict the number of jet boats would be reasonable if jet boat use ever climbed to some unspecified maximum capacity.

> T: Sure, maybe they have to regulate, you know, because during the summer the rafters are so thick.... T: We understand that. H: ... There's just so many of them that they have to regulate it, and ... they can regulate us with it too. (Howard and Tammy, *648-677, #114)
>
> And you can't have it overrun. I mean, you got to have -- it's getting that many that it's super-congested. Certain months you have to have some sort of permit deal... (Ted, 935-937, #115)

> That's … our big problem here any ways… the terrible number of people and the leisure time we got, so there's a lot more of us using it. You know, in the 50's this wasn't an issue. … there's got to be a balance and … I'm not smart enough to know how to do it. (Jeff, 417-422, #116)

> … I think the Forest Service is worried about crowding or overcrowding. There needs to be restrictions put on jet boating just the same as there needs to be restrictions on rafting. And the restrictions need to be so it provides a quality experience for everyone. But I adamantly oppose eliminating any portion of the river to either user group for any period of time. (Daniel, 507-516, #117)

> And I wouldn't want to see a whole bunch more jet boats up there, you know. So I do believe there's room for limits of both floaters and jet boaters … (Ken, 699-701, #118)

> I: Do you … have a feel for when -- at what point that you would feel the restrictions might be appropriate? … T: Well, if I saw a great change in the use, you know, on the -- and it will be fairly obviously, you know. There's just too many people coming down, too much congestion … totally ruin your experience, then it's too much. It's time to back off. And that could happen. They're letting quite a few down right now [inaudible]. And that river's in good shape. The canyon's in good shape. It's a hell of a lot better than it was 30 years ago. A lot of people don't know that. But there was a lot of trash in that canyon, an awful lot. (Tom, 775-787, #119)

And, in contrast to the concerns expressed in regard to management or control of people in some of the excerpts presented above, some interview participants supported development and enforcement of regulations related to behavior among river users. One individual even noted positive outcomes of one of the Forest Service's initiatives in this regard.

> … I would definitely have rules posted at loading places, this is what's expected of all river users. Say something like, you risk losing your privilege to use the river if you're not following the rules, or something like that. Somehow be able to enforce it. (Amy, 232-234, #120)

> You get a jet boater out there that's got a new jet boat and he thinks he's some kind of a hot dog or something. He needs to respect other user groups just as much. And the ones that don't should be jerked off the river. (Daniel, *1110-1138, #121)

> Well, in the old days, it was nothing, to get mooned, flipped off, and maybe people shaking their fists at you …. Then the Forest Service in their pre-float speech, they mellowed the people out a little bit and then on the other hand, the jet boaters became more polite. (Roger, *263-265, #122)

The excerpts presented above reflect that, at least in principle, many jet boaters recognize the need for management regulations with respect to recreational use on the river and some express support for at least some of the current management actions. At the same time, some are expressing concern about current regulations. Explaining why a person supports or opposes management regulations requires an understanding of both that individual's underlying use ethic and his or her perception of the current situation or resource conditions. Due to its relevance to understanding their views with regard to management regulations, the following section attempts to provide some insight into interview participants' use ethic. Obviously, due to variation among individuals, giving a characterization of jet boaters' use ethic as a group is a difficult task. The following discussion is based on what appear to be widely shared themes. An attempt to interpret the use ethic of specific individuals is included in the biosketches contained in the companion report.

A phrase used by some of the jet boaters interviewed in the first phase of the study and again by one of the respondents in this phase was "responsible shared use." Among those who use this term, at its broadest level, this use ethic seems to encompass a variety of dimensions including an emphasis on facilitating use, responsibility toward other users, responsible marketing of the experience, equity in allocating use, and responsibility toward the environment. Across individuals, there is some variation with respect to the extent to which each of these dimensions are evident in their underlying use ethic. However, despite this variation, broadly speaking the concept of "responsible shared use" appears to be an appropriate label for describing the use ethic of the jet boaters interviewed.

Use

While this dimension may seem obvious to a "use" ethic, it is worth noting in part because this perspective may differ from that of individuals who see wilderness primarily as serving a different set of primary values, for example wilderness primarily as biodiversity reserves rather than places to provide recreation opportunities. Without exception among the jet boaters interviewed in this study, facilitating opportunities for human use and enjoyment was clearly a primary value for which this area should be managed. As the excerpts presented below indicate, this statement was often qualified by a concern for preserving the area. And as the discussion presented earlier in the section on the meaning of wilderness indicates, respondents valued the undeveloped, remote, and pristine nature of the area. While there may be variation in opinion about what management practices are an appropriate means of facilitating use, there appears to be widespread agreement among the jet boaters interviewed that efforts to facilitate use should be acknowledged as one of the fundamental principles guiding management of this area.

> D: I want everybody to enjoy it and I think the Forest Service ought to encourage, not discourage, people to use the wilderness. ... A: I think that was the design of the thinkers who set up this area. That it was to be preserved for the use of everybody. D: That there wouldn't be no roads, but that people could get in and get out and enjoy it, period. (Doug and Alicia, 330-338, #123)
>
> I: If you were given the job of managing that area of the Salmon and in the wilderness there, what issues do you think would be important to focus on? ... C: ... it would be great to me to open some of it up and let people enjoy it. That's what it's there for. What's the sense of having it if you can't enjoy it? And I don't mean to abuse it, but there's got to be some way that people could enjoy it that can't walk it or they don't have a jet boat, you know, or a horse. (Cathy, 213-226, #124)
>
> Well, I think that anyone that could should be able to enjoy that area. I certainly wouldn't want to see it destroyed, you know. ... I like to enjoy our natural resources. But I don't want to destroy them either. (Hank, 375-397, #125)

Shared Use - Responsibility to the Community of River Users

The first dimension of "responsibility" that goes with use, and the one most commonly identified and discussed by interview participants, was responsibility toward other river users. In recognition that they are all sharing the same river, jet boaters place a high premium on maintaining positive interactions. "Rude behavior" is one of the most common concerns expressed by jet boaters. And breaches of river etiquette are viewed with irritation whether they involve floaters or jet boaters. And at times, even actions like littering is condemned as "rude" behavior.

> I think [our encounters] have always been pretty positive due to the fact that when we are on the river, we conduct ourselves just like everybody was our neighbor. So, probably for that reason, ours have been pretty positive. (Troy, *122-125, #126)

> D: And that's our attitude. We try to be as courteous as we can to everybody that's on the water. ... For the most part you can tell from the attitude who doesn't want you there and who really doesn't care that you're there. If they don't mind that you're being there, I mean, they'll wave, they're friendly, and the whole shooting match. But if they really don't want you there, it doesn't matter how many times you wave at them, they'll just stick their nose in the air and go right on by. (Denny, 686-699, #127)

> ... you wouldn't want a bunch of people up there drinking and partying.... You're up there to be in the mountains and in the wilderness. You don't want anything to cause problems for your neighbor, I guess you'd have to say, because you're going to run into people no matter where you are so you respect other people that are on the river, usually everybody gets along and there's no problems. (John, 251-252, #128)

> J: The experience we had last summer with the rude floaters. When I left the river I was so durn mad I didn't enjoy myself. I don't go up there to fight and to be bullied around. I go up there to enjoy. C: We were on the beach. ... J: Eating lunch. We wasn't even camped there. C: And here come all the floaters in -- J: And then he said, we sure hope you're not staying here because we are. ... J: And started throwing their stuff out. ... They was totally rude. (Jason and Cathy, 759-819, #129)

> J: And they'd [a group a jet boaters] been rude all day. But besides that, you have your river rules, you know. You take Mackay Bar, Shepp Ranch, whatever, and they have 15, 20 people in this big boat and they're coming in and it's 4:00 in the evening. It gets dark about 5:00. So they've got to get these people unloaded so they can go about their way and get back to the ranch because they don't have any headlights. So it's always been a rule of thumb if you come down and they're there - go over across the river and fish, give them fifteen minutes to get out of the way and whatever. ... These guys from Boise actually passed the Shepp Ranch boat to beat them in, they wanted to get their boat in the trailer first and get out of there. And here was Shepp Ranch sitting out here then waiting and worried about time. You just don't do it. (Jason, 949-958, #130)

> L: I think you also have a feeling about it that you're just going to treat it with a lot more respect. ... And it's not necessarily ... because ... it's a wilderness. We don't litter wherever we go. We just don't. It's a rude thing to do and we just don't. ... G: Well, there ain't nothing any more upsetting to come into a camp someplace and there's trash there. ... Even to leave their bag and it's all bagged up, just didn't want to bother to take it out. It's upsetting. (Linda and Gary, *845-874, #131)

Accompanying this theme of responsibility toward other river users in the responses of a number of the jet boaters interviewed is the notion that everybody experiences inconveniences as a consequence of other users. They recognize that floaters may be disturbed by the noise of jet boats. But they also note that jet boaters are more aware of and more inconvenienced by the number of floaters, especially with the growing tendency for outfitted parties to allow everyone to float in individual "duckies." However, these types of inconveniences are seen as being an unavoidable consequence of sharing the river. As one user noted, there is no perfect trip when there are others present. Part of responsible sharing of the river is for river users to accept others on the river, to take responsibility for not letting these inconveniences have too much an effect on the trip, to look for the positive in interactions, and to realize that others are dealing in the same way with consequences of your way of using the river. Further, in reference to floaters who do not wish to encounter jet boats, they note that other rivers in the region offer that experience and part of responsible use is selecting the river that will provide the experience sought. Also implied in some of the comments is the hope that managers will take a realistic view too. Sometimes there will be negative interactions, they cannot be totally eliminated. The excerpts below illustrate these themes in the interview participant's own words.

> I: What does that [responsible shared use] ... entail? I mean, your understanding of what that term means. D: Responsible shared use? I think it entails being totally responsible for your own actions, respecting other user groups. You might like to raft but you don't like jet boats, that's fine. You should still respect it. And the same way with jet boaters. (Daniel, *1110-1138, #132)

> D: The biggest complaint that we have with floaters is they might go down there with a party that ... might have 20 ... rafts or kayaks or whatever. And invariably you're going to meet those people right at the foot of a rapids. And you're going to sit there for as long as it takes twenty boats to float through that rapids, and they don't stay together. They spread out and you might be stuck there for an hour. ... I: How does that kind of make you feel when that happens time after time? D: Well, we just kind of grumble ... nothing we can do about it. Other than just voice our complaint to each other and go on about having our good time. I: But it's nothing that would necessarily ruin the trip for you? D: Oh, no, no. (Denny, 395-416, #133)

> There's good floaters and bad floaters. There's good jet boaters and there's bad jet boaters and you're going to have them no matter what you do. ... But all in all, I would say that 90% of them are all very good, very respectful... we all make mistakes. There's not a perfect rafting trip, there ain't a perfect jet boat trip, there ain't a perfect forest ranger. If there is, let me know. If there was a perfect contract, one perfect contract we wouldn't have no lawyers. You understand what I'm saying. There's going to be some problems, but the good outweighs the bad. (Doug, 793-803, #134)

> You're going to have encounters. That seems to be the primary concern of the float boaters. There's a lot of people using it and you're going to see other people. There's hardly any way to get around that and a little common courtesy by all parties will make that so it's not a bad experience. (Tom, 550-560, #135)

> G: And we've been camped in this place, have our tents all set up and here comes rafters late in the day and they're trying to find something. Well, there's a little spot

> next to us. You know, we had this place all to ourselves and here come another 20, 30 people right in next to you. L: But we've also ... met some really great people sharing campgrounds with, people we never would have known. (Bart, Gary, and Linda, *1992-2017, #136)
>
> D: And the only controversy that I could see [for floaters] would be the noise, noise pollution. L: But have you ever noticed that when you go around one corner you can't hear a boat? ... If you're standing around one corner on the Salmon River you can't hear nothing. (David and Linda, 1092-1111, #137).
>
> They really like us when we leave early and give them all our ice. Because they're always out of ice. (Bart, 469-473, #138)
>
> G: You know, you're a long ways from any place to get any place. And somebody gets out a boat there or gets throwed out a raft, they drown, get snake bit, break a leg, you better hope there's a jet boat around. ... G: Well, these guys [were rafting and] ... it got away from [them] ... and they was running down and they couldn't even catch up, and you guys took them to catch up [on your jet boat] ... and they'd [of] had to walk all the way out if it kept getting away. L: They were losing one of their people because he had floated ... he couldn't swim .... He probably would have drowned. He had a life jacket on, but I don't [know]. (Gary, Bart, and Linda, 1200-1221, #139)
>
> S: See, that's a [the Middle Fork of the Salmon River] if they don't want to listen to jet boats, they can float that river. There's tons of rivers like that, the Selway, Lochsa. Of course, the Lochsa has a road by it but the Selway don't. But the Snake and the Salmon is the only place that jet boaters can go and they're just trying to edge them out. (Steve and Josh, 551-555, #140)

Along the lines of this interpretation of responsible shared use, one of the concerns expressed by some jet boaters was the apparent growth in "rude behavior" and general intolerance for other river users. Although several felt that the situation had improved in recent years as expressed by Tom and Roger.

> Sa: Or you pull off and wait for them to go by and they moon you when they're going by. I mean, we've had that happen a lot. ... Sa: In the last 10 years, but it didn't used to be. Sn: Everybody used to kind of work together. Sa: Yeah, we got along. Sn: If you were coming up a rapid, the rafters would pull over or vice versa or however. (Sally and Sean, 1301-1318, #141)
>
> ... we used to see floaters, wave at them. And instead of people shoving from Whitebird [having to] shuttle cars to [inaudible] and float down that stretch of river, I don't know how many times ... we used to load the rafts on the jet boats to haul them back up so they could do it again. (Jason, 635-636, #142)
>
> And especially now that there's become a polarity between those that feel they have a better right than another person's right to be there. And to ameliorate that problem is ... I don't know that it can be done. (Ben, 237-238, #143)

> I think probably that [controversy between floaters and jet boaters] comes from somebody having a culture of, one or the other. And maybe more from the floaters, I think that's a bigger population, of feeling more ownership and maybe having a wider audience to share their thoughts about ownership. That's not, that's really not a rational type of judgement because everybody owns it. (Troy, 119-120, #144)

> T: But I've started working on that in the early days when the float boaters started coming down. And I'm an easygoing guy and I like people, like to see people having fun, you know. And some of these float boaters come down there and they'd be all stiff-upper-lipped and maybe flip you a bird, and just [inaudible], you know. I just grin at them and smile and wave and so on and act like I'm having a hell of a good time. And, you know, after a few years it got kind of hard for them to act like that when you'd go by and act like you was having fun. (Tom, 564-568, #145)

> Well, in the old days, it was nothing, to get mooned, flipped off, and maybe people shaking their fists at you .... Then the Forest Service in their pre-float speech, they mellowed the people out a little bit and then on the other hand, the jet boaters became more polite. In rapids, they would yield and stuff like that and still I think the jet boaters have learned that if you're on the river fairly early and you get off by ten or eleven and the floaters pretty much have the river during the day and they want to get to camp and have a beer by 3:30 or 4:00, so they're in camp. (Roger, 263-265, #146)

Those who perceived a continued growth in rudeness and unwillingness to share the river attributed it to a variety of causes from the whole wilderness movement to the growth of city users on commercial trips. However, the most frequently identified reasons are outfitters who market an inappropriate image of the experience and some of whom even actively promote anti-jet boat sentiment for selfish reasons. Even Tom felt this had been a problem.

> B: But as we've seen in our society, we've become more intolerant of one another and ... I think this whole thing with this wilderness issue was part of the deal that's done some of that. ... J: ... and the polarization. If it's not wilderness, then its gonna be clearcut or strip mined, you know. There's nothing in between. B: Right, and they're always afraid if it isn't... protected then it would be developed. And that was the beauty of a primitive area. It was areas set aside to be evaluated for society's needs in the future. And to me that was a lot more politically viable attitude to take. (Ben and Jeff, 479-489, #147)

> T: The commercial are more rude. I:... do you have ...feelings for why? T: I think because they're from the city and they think that we're intruding on their space. They don't get to see that very often and they figure we're invading their space, and in reality they're invading ours, you know. They're not from here. (Tammy, 1707-1720, #148)

> D: I think the biggest thing is these outfitters and guides advertise back east as a wilderness experience. ... they don't tell the people that there will be ... jet boats on this river .... And I think that's a ... misconception of people back east who want a wilderness experience. ... And I think when they advertise it as wilderness, they should say motorized vehicles are being used on the river. There's a lot of people who want a wilderness experience, but they expect no sounds, no nothing, totally back to nature. This is one real misconception of people who pay $3,000 to take a float trip are being misrepresented and then when they get down on the river, they're getting mad because this is not a real wilderness experience. ... (Doug, *851-

> 868, #149)
>
> D: If they float down the river with a commercial raft group, they want to believe in those guides, they do believe in those guides, and they believe what those guides tell them. And most of the guides kind of take the attitude of the owners. And if the owners are anti-jet boat, boy, it comes across with the guides. And ... if you're on the river every day, you can watch groups put in and you can tell on the commercials which ones are friendly to jet boats and which ones aren't by the attitude of the guides and the clients, by the second day they're on the river. (Daniel, 746-778, #150)
>
> J: I have a feeling there's probably one or two outfitters that are floaters, not jet boaters, that are probably trying to [limit jet boating] on the Salmon River. ... S: They want it all to themselves. J: That's pretty much being pretty selfish.... (Josh and Steve, *482-499, #151)
>
> T: And then some of commercials was telling people, you know, there's no -- no habitation in this canyon. Well Christ, there's a place every three or four miles, you know. T: And people live there and there are roads, not many, but a few, and so [inaudible] vehicle. They've been trying to sell something they really didn't have. I: Sure. So maybe part of the -- T: They were trying to act like we wasn't supposed to be there, you know, ... Hell, well, we've been there before they was. (Tom, 658-670, #152)
>
> So it's just plain as the nose on your face that the outfitters themselves or their guides are -- and I don't know. The guides, you know, they come up to these rapids and they stop up there and they make all the people get out and they make them walk down there, you know, and they sit for an hour looking at this rapid thinking, you know, trying to psyche these people up and tell them this is the hardest rapid in the whole damn world to run. And they just about get in their boats and here comes a jet boat around the corner and he swishes down through there, you know, and I can see that it kind of deflates them. (Tom, 620-621, #153)

Equity

Another dimension of responsible shared use is equity in allocation of use. Many interview participants felt that jet boaters, at least during the summer control season, did not have much presence on the river to begin with. Rather than restricting use of jet boats further, they felt that a bit more equitable distribution of use on the river was warranted. Further, there was a widespread tendency to believe that use restrictions above Ludwig during the control season would be unnecessary in the first place. Due to the difficulty involved, the impression was that not many jet boaters would even try it. In addition to looking at allocation of use across different types of users on the Salmon, the jet boaters' concept of responsible shared use includes a regional perspective. They pointed out that within the entire Pacific Northwest region, jet boats were allowed on only a few rivers to begin with and for other users to push for their exclusion on the Salmon as well was selfish.

> And the private jet boaters, they're just almost extinct down there. L: Yeah, you don't see them. They're an endangered species for sure. (Bart and Linda, 2231-2234, #154)
>
> I: If you were managing the area ... what do you think for the Salmon would be the important issues to focus on? ... T: In terms of? I: Managing the river and the different user groups

> and, you know -- T: Equal it out a little. It's totally off balance. ... In favor of the float boats. (Ted, 388-403, #155)

> You know, we don't need a permit to go up there in the winter because float boats don't want to go up there then. And when it's super high water they don't want to go up there either because they're scared to run it. But then when it gets nice weather we can't go up there. (Ted, 407-410, #156)

> I: Now, ... if you were given responsibility of managing that river corridor, what issues would you focus on ...? R: Well, I think what I would focus on is that there is a self limiting effect to the river by experience and equipment. Just above Mackay Bar there's a rapid called Ludwig which is again another limiting factor. Jet boats run up as far as that and most of them won't go through it during the use seasons. (Roger, 237-241, #157)

> B: Probably a new jet boater would not take his boat up there. G: No, not on that upper part. ... D: There are probably guys that could name every person that can run that river. ... I mean, there's not that many. ... It's kind of a pretty exclusive club. L: But ... the river itself is going to restrict -- keep that use restricted because ... there's certain rapids down there that the water itself is going to -- G: It tells you whether you're going to go up there or not. (Bart, Gary, David, and Linda, 1759-1782, #158)

> And it [the Salmon River] needs to be shared. That river needs to be shared by both rafters and jet boaters. Out of 34 federally classified rivers in the Pacific Northwest, jet boats are prohibited on about ... 30 or 31 of them. Anyone who doesn't want to share that river with a jet boat has got other rivers they can go on without that. And it's -- I think to push for exclusionary use is very selfish, it's one-sided and it's not fair. (Daniel, 535-542, #159)

> ... let me put it this way, I don't think that jet boaters hurt the experience at all up there, I really don't. And I can say that because I've done a fair amount of rafting too. You've got the Middle Fork and you've got the Selway and you've got other rivers like that that totally exclude jet boats, which I think is a good idea. Even if you drive a jet boat up the Middle Fork, it's not a good idea, you don't want them in there. That's the way it's been. I think that's the way it should always be. As the main Salmon, I don't think that should change. There may be conflicts in the summer, but I think I would rather see them figure out a way to deal with those conflicts and either limit the numbers of rafters and boaters or something like that, rather than just throw the jet boaters off of the there. On that particular river, I think they're part of the culture now. ... I'm an avid environmentalist but having said that, I don't think that's the place to impose a complete status of throwing the jet boaters out of there or making it so limiting. (Mitch, 231-242, #160)

Stewardship

A final dimension to responsible shared use evident in the responses of many of the interview participants was responsibility to the environment. Most commonly this theme surfaced with respect to litter and keeping a clean camp. Not only was keeping a litter free environment important to many jet boaters, some also indicated that they felt jet boaters did a better job of keeping areas litter free but were being blamed for trash left by floaters. Although less common, some of the respondents referred to the importance of other actions to protect the area. And, in fact, some of the concerns interview participants expressed about the direction they perceived regulations to be going stemmed from the fact that they had not seen any evidence of impact to the resource. Combined with an ethic that emphasizes shared use, this appears to lead some of the jet boaters to question the legitimacy or rationale for some for the initiatives to limit use.

> T: We always took care of the river. We never left garbage in the river. Never have, you know. Always pack out more than I pack in because the last float boaters left their tin cans laying there. Every time I've ever come out of the river you pack out twice as much as you brought in. I: So in that sense you feel that the jet boaters are taking care of it? T: Always have. You got a bad apple in every crowd, but as a general rule jet boaters always pack out all their junk. They don't go up and make a mess. Want to go back next week or next month or whenever, you know, and don't want a mess to go back to. (Ted, 789-811, #161)

> H: We're getting a bad name and they're [rafters] taking all the credit and it really irritates me. We clean up after them, which is -- it's alright, I guess. They don't hurt the sandbars .. leaving trash. You know, they don't hurt the sand or nothing. It's no big deal. They build fires on there. That's great. It washes away in the spring. That's no -- to me that's nothing. But it's the fact that we're getting the blame for a lot of the things they're doing and that irritates me. T: That really irritates me actually. I cleaned up after them yesterday. And you know it's them because they're -- the trash that was there was -- they left wrappers for their bed rolls, those little plastic things that they sleep on, you know. They just bought them or something, they just threw them out on the beach. I'm going ... if you pack it in, pack it out. It's easier to pack it out than it is to pack it in. (Howard and Tammy, 1646-1674, #162)

> T: Almost anybody that saw anybody leave any trash now, why that guy'd be black balled from now on. They'd scream to high heaven, run to the authorities. That's just the way it is. (Tom, 858-860, #163)

> I like to preserve anything that I use ... (Jeff, 160, #164)

> I'll say this, the times that I've been up there, the way it's done right now, I think that's pretty good. ... in the summer, I sure think they've got to keep the restrictions as far as the fire pans and the chemical toilets and all that kind of stuff. I just don't see any other way. (Mitch, 126-128, #165)

> J: I've floated the Middle Fork of the Salmon River about five years ago.... The middle fork of the Salmon's very busy. But what I'm saying is ... what is it? ... 16,000 a year on it, something like that now? That's the most clean, prestigious river I've ever been on. Everybody picks up their own stuff. I mean, you can't tell ... anybody's been there. It's gorgeous. I don't think they're overusing it, I really don't. (Josh and Steve, 524-550, #166)

> One of the reasons I asked you about the EIS is because we spent a lot of time doing fishing and going back there, ... we take hikes up the hill or along the river and really I haven't seen anything that I'd call impacts from overuse. I haven't seen that on sand bars and/or walking along the river and we're kind of - I guess you can say we have the ability to scrutinize maybe about a 24-30 mile stretch or river going up to Mackay Bar and that's usually where we go up for day trips. I just really can't see any impact. So it really makes me wonder why they're talking about user groups being eliminated from use from the river. (Troy, *164-169,

#167)

> K: But I think ... a lot of the people from the Forest Service, they ride the raft down and they get this negative feeling about jet boats ... Sn: A lot of them have never been in a jet boat. K: Right. And they go back into the office and there's a lot of insiders that are environmentalists, I know that from my line of work and so forth. So I do feel there's misconceptions about it. Jet boaters aren't bad people any more than the rafters are. J: Well, and I think a lot of it too is that the thought behind it is that a rafter in a wilderness area is not polluting the area maybe by noise. I mean, it's just one person floating naturally through the river, where a jet boat -- you know, maybe they've got the idea that there's an oil slick behind it and that type of stuff, and it's not there. (Ken, Sean, and Jack, 1200-1208, #168)

Public Relations

Another issue that can be explored based on interview responses deals with the relationship between the Forest Service and the jet boating community as perceived by jet boaters. Again there is variation in perception; however overall comments suggest a strained relationship and a user group that has significant concerns about the legitimacy of planning/decision making processes. In fact, several interview participants expressed this view very directly as indicated in the excerpts presented below. As the last excerpt below (#159) indicates, this friction has implications not only for this user group's perception of the agency, it also may result in lost opportunities for cooperative stewardship of the resource.

> I: If you were ... give[n] a chance to manage this area ... what would be the issues that you would choose to focus on... ? J: The first thing, I'd kick the Forest Service totally off of it. [laughter] ... And then that would be the end of the problem. (Jason, *616-635, #169)

> I: In terms of the, I guess, the Forest Service doing business up there ... what in your opinion would have to happen or would they have to do for you to regain a little confidence in them? ... [laughter] T: Go home. (Ted, 777-782, #170)

> A: Personally, I feel the Forest Service ... in their draft plan .... they pitted the float boater against the backpacker on the middle fork and the backpacker against the horse person and the float boaters against the jet boaters, not necessarily on the middle fork but on the big river. What they need to do is say, "Hey, you guys are all going to be here, you all got to get along." ... I think if they did that, I don't think they'd have near the problems we have today. (Andy, 204-207, #171)

> ... there's only one time I would have ever turned anybody in my life, and I started to and I didn't because it would be all the Forest Service would need is another black mark on the jet boater. I watched some guys from Boise pull up on the boat dock, just out of the water about 20 feet, and dump their oil out of the engine, let it run back in the water. ... And I -- I would have turned them in, and I started to, took their boat number and license number and everything. Then I got thinking. Man, that's just another black mark for jet boaters because of this one guy. (#172)

The purpose of this section of the report is not to take a position on the truth or accuracy of these types perceptions, but to describe this user groups' perceptions concerning their relationship with the Forest Service and to identify some possible factors shaping these perceptions. With respect to the latter issue, while it is tempting to attribute a cynical attitude simply to a special interest group that is not getting its way, a deeper analysis of the situation suggests other factors involved. Taken as a whole, comments by respondents suggest that the strained relationship between the Forest Service and the community of jet boat users is influenced by a variety of factors including: (1) perceptions that the Forest Service ignores public input; (2) perceptions that the decision making process reflects the desires of special interest groups rather than the broader public; (3) misunderstanding the purpose or meaning of information presented at public meetings; (4) perceptions that decision makers in the Forest Service are "out of touch" with the resource they manage, a situation perceived to be exacerbated by lack of continuity in Forest Service personnel; (5) perceptions about what management actions communicate about how the agency views or values individuals; (6) different perspectives about consequences of management actions and the most appropriate way to protect the resource; and (7) differences in underlying values. The excerpts presented below illustrate the presence of each of these dimensions among at least a portion of the jet boating community.

Public Input Ignored

> I feel they made the rules on the river years ago. The book was sealed and put in cellophane. I went to all these meetings that they have on the river. They already knew what they was going to do and they would just give us a pacifier by the meetings. ... they didn't listen to a damn thing. I went to every meeting I could trying to stop this regulation of the river. And they'd ask a question that would be answered to what they wanted to hear.... If you brought up a question that they didn't want to hear the answer, you were smoothed over pretty fast. (Jason, 1089-1096, #173)
>
> G: ... I don't know it'd be true, but rumors that we do hear, you know, that they'll have people like you do a study ... and then when they go to make a decision it's all throwed out the window. ... They've already made up their mind. L: Well, that's another thing I think that threatens all of us, or we all don't like, is just not feeling like -- G: We're listened to at all. L: Yeah, yeah. L: ... They've lost their credibility with the public ... (Gary and Linda, 1345-1370, #174)
>
> And I guess ultimately my question is, was the Forest Service mandated an X amount of dollars to do this survey, or did they want the input? There's a hell of a difference between you have to do this, or you want to do this. [laughter] (Jack, 1562, #175)

Special Interests vs. the Public

> J: And as far as managing an area, I mean, you can't show favoritism or manage it in one direction for one group and manage it in a different direction for a different group. You know, outfitters and rafters and private jet boaters have always been looked at in three separate categories, and there's none of them that should use it more or less or be expected to .... K: Or to have priority. J: Yeah, one way or the other. And there's a lot of priority that goes along with the outfitters. K: Yeah. Because it's a money-oriented thing ... they go and they have their big outfitters association that they can fight through and all that, where us private boaters, there is an association for that. I'm not a member of it, but it just seems way smaller in regards to the -- J: Yeah. The one that speaks the loudest gets heard, I guess. [laughter] (Jack and Ken, 875-892, #176)
>
> The local [Forest Service] people have a good relationship basically with the boaters and the

floaters both. But then you get up into the higher levels of management and a little more political in nature and one group hollers louder than the other one, or has more money on the table, or something. And you never know for sure what it is. But they seem to listen to that group a lot more than they do the other one. (Denny, 361-370, #177)

Misunderstandings About the Purpose or Meaning of Information

I: ... so [the Forest Service is] kind of contributing to the problems? A: I feel they are when they start fitting people into plans. It's just like their draft EIS, there was quite a few comments on this among jet boaters. They made the statement that most of the float boaters were college educated and most of the jet boaters weren't. Well, this might be true, most of the jet boaters own their own businesses and it's a matter of time. I know that people that float and jet boat both. And I've done it. I like to float, but only if I got enough time. And usually it's a matter of time. If I had a week, it'd be nice. I: So did it seem like it was a slam maybe to jet boaters? A: Well, they felt it was, they felt ... that's just like saying most of them are from L.A. and most of them are from Montana. It's like saying like in Idaho, I mean Californians ... they kind of got a reputation for not being the best thing anyways. I: So in that sense maybe they focused on something they really didn't... A: It doesn't pertain to anything. All they're doing is causing trouble... And I know jet boaters, a number of them have a college education also. (Andy, 209-229, #178)

Distant Decision Makers/Lack of Continuity in Personnel

I guess what I think is the Forest Service spends too much time in the office. I've I talked to Forest Service people here in town that've never been on the river. (Doug, 747-748, #179)

H: I think the Forest Service decisions are made well above the local offices, and those people have no idea what goes on. ... That's my personal feeling. And sometimes I feel sorry for the local Forest Service people because they've got to take the brunt of it and they've got to tell them, well, this is the decision. And I don't believe that some of the decisions are made with all of the facts that are presented to them.... I: Do you think then maybe with respect to jet boat users, that they don't have all the information, they don't know really? H: It's given to them and I would say for some reason they don't view all of it. (Hank, 551-564, #180)

B: And the people that's doing it ought to stay in this position at least long enough to get to get their feet wet. L: ... they transfer their personnel around a lot and when it gets to be a hot topic, sometimes people aren't there when you come back with ... and by the time you get your appeals and everything, which are inevitable, many times those people have transferred and you're having to deal with a whole new set of personnel and -- G: Uh-hmm, that's already got their mind made up too. L: Well, or just aren't familiar with everything ... previous. G: But I don't think anybody, Forestry or any of them, ... should be able to make a decision, till they see it and they experience it. (Bart, Linda, and Gary, 2376-2394, #181)

J: It's kind of a hands-on deal and the way these Forest Service people turn over sometimes, two or three years they're gone and another one's in, and they don't have any continuity. Everything changes every time somebody else comes in, the forest takes millions of years to evolve and they got somebody changing their policy every two or three years. It just doesn't work.... take a management philosophy for the Nez Perce National Forest or the Clearwater National Forest, ... within those huge boundaries you've got all these different situations. I mean, you might have a northfaced cedar slope. The other side might be a south slope yellow pine slope. ... you got to manage them different. ... S: ... They don't manage it that way.... but like you said, a lot of the reasons is somebody's here for three years and then they're moving up the ladder and .... I: So in that sense, the managers themselves need to spend some time in -- you know, for this example, say, spend some time going down the Salmon, getting to know the people and the issues and then stay there for a while. J: Yes. Well, I think they should do some counting and really see if there's that much use up there to limit boats. (Steve and Josh, 876-958, #182)

Perceptions About What Management Actions Communicate

Also the other thing that really bugs me about them is, I'll be setting in my camp enjoying the river running by, and here come the jet boat pulling with the Forest Service and the Fish and Game. They both pack pistols into my camp like I'm a criminal. (Jason, 1143-1144, #183)

M: So, you know, whenever they start putting more regulations on a river, everybody gets their hair upon their neck because of that sort of thing. ... All of a sudden when you want to go out there and enjoy what you want to do, somebody's watching you. K: And we're all law abiding people. M: Yeah. K: We're not criminals that just got out of the state penn or something. There's no reason for anybody to be watching us. (Matt, Samantha, Sean, Ken, 967-1043, #184)

Different Perspectives on the Most Appropriate Way to Protect the Resource

J: And I've heard ... the float groups, they have their canister and so forth. Just at Sheep Creek one day I was curious and ... and I seen them all pull in. And I kept seeing all these people go out behind these big rocks. So the next day I went up there and sure enough, it was terrible ... and it was an outfitter. ... But the deal is, even though they're with an outfitter, sure, what they'll tell you is, well, we told our people they have to, but we can't control them all the time. And instead of them going to use the canisters, they were going up to the bushes or behind the rock. There used to be an outhouse right there at that spot. And, you know, they wouldn't have had that mess. ... that's one of my biggest complaints ... and I've brought that up time and time again to them. And they kept saying, well, we've got to pack it in, pack it out. Good story. I: Yeah, okay. So that's just -- from your experiences up there, that philosophy with regard to at least toilets is unreasonable. J: Totally. (Jason, 1250-1269, #185)

Oh, they've done some stupid things. The other thing that just totally fried me is we started losing our mountain sheep up there a few years back from disease. The University of Idaho needed a carcass when it was still warm to run tests on it. So they wanted to fly a helicopter in and load a sheep and get it out. They couldn't do it because it was wilderness. They couldn't get through the red tape to land a helicopter there, so we're losing our sheep because somebody's stupid idea -- I mean, how much harm would it hurt to land a helicopter, load a sheep in it, and haul it out to save our sheep. (Jason, 707-712, #186)

Differences in Underlying Values

K: The Forest Service has always been sort of wanting to erase anything that was left from all that history, and I don't think they do so much of it any more. But they used to burn all the cabins and stuff and that -- that's just crazy to me. That's like taking historical documents and burning them. (Ken, 750-752, #187)

> B: I may be a little wrong on this, but we went to one meeting and I think it's really wrong for the Forest Service to ... put a price tag on each person ... for revenue coming in ... on the Salmon, and they're almost doing that. They've got so much calculation out that they can tell you how much each rafter brings in for revenue and each jet boater brings in for revenue. Well, ... the rafters has got us outnumbered ... So the jet boaters, hey, we're not putting the money into the big economy like ... the rafters... And I definitely don't think that they should figure it that way. ... I don't think there should be a price on our heads to -- on anybody. When they start figuring out how much groceries and stuff you spend and all of that.... L: Yeah, he had it figured out by the dollar. ... D: Well, I'm sure that there's probably some real solid truth to that. But what difference does that make? (Bart, Linda, and David, 1934-1961, #188)

> I think there are people within the Forest Service who see our point of view and believe that wholeheartedly. But I think there are a lot of people in the Forest Service ... [who are] going to do what they can to ... get rid of motorized use. And they just view it as motorized use and they view it as an encroachment, and that's their attitude. And that's unfortunate. (Daniel, 1148-1158, #189)

The preceding section on use ethics suggests that the jet boaters interviewed highly value positive relationships among the community of river users. At the same time, the comments presented in this section suggest that the relationship with the Forest Service is strained. This situation may in part reflect differences in underlying values, and when it comes to management of a resource, these types of differences are extremely difficult to resolve. However it is possible for controversy or conflict to be constructive rather than destructive provided that a positive relationship is firmly established. The comments presented above suggest that some of the perceived strain on the relationship between the Forest Service and the jet boaters interviewed is due to not only value differences, but also to issues of communication. These types of issues are more readily addressed than value differences. Addressing these communication issues may eliminate some controversies and in other case may promote a more constructive atmosphere for addressing conflicts in values. Particularly in light of a user group whose use ethic places a high value on maintaining positive relationships, attempts to address this situation as part of the longterm planning effort may be highly warranted. The possible benefits from focusing on building relationships with this user group is evident in the following excerpt demonstrating how a Forest Service river ranger gained the respect of river users while at the same time enforcing and helping to bring a bout a more rigorous use ethic.

> I: Do you have a feel for how come that improved, that whole situation? T: Education. I: Hmm, okay. Was it -- T: A lot of it came from [name of Forest Service employee]. He was the first river patrol when I first got the contract to ..., and he was a Syracuse football player and he looked like a little gorilla. But he was a -- he was really a super PR man, and he still is. ... And a lot of ... people didn't want to pack out their trash, they didn't want to ... [and] they hadn't been required to do it. And old [name], he could just stand right there in front of the biggest guy in the world with the biggest grin. He was just a nice guy, you know. And just tell them, you know, ... You've got to fix this up here. He could do it and people respected him. ... They started doing it. They started cleaning it up. (Tom, 775-813, #190)

Though not illustrated here, the interview with Jason in the companion report (excerpts #65-

67 associated with his reconstructed interview) illustrate how different approaches to enforcement may lead to different receptiveness to regulations within one individual.

In light of this suggestion, the jet boat clubs in the area might potentially serve an important role. Conflict resolution literature indicates that resolving conflict within a community is extremely difficult in the absence of an established social network capable of linking the community together, passing on information, and representing the interested parties. Although the scope of this present study was limited (20 individuals selected using nonrandom procedures), results suggest that the jet boat clubs may potentially provide the type of social network necessary for representing and resolving issues associated with the community of jet boat users. First many of our respondents indicated that, while they recognized the social and educational functions the clubs served, they joined a club (entirely or at least in part) because they saw it as means of representing their interests. Second, it appears that through informal relations (friendships, family), the influence of jet boat clubs may extend even more broadly than its membership. For example, as noted in the introduction to the report, while the interview was set up with a specific individual, on 5 occasions those individuals invited one or more friends to participate. In 3 cases those self-selected social groups included a mixture of members and nonmembers. Jet boat clubs, then, could possibly serve as a social network for facilitating Forest Service interaction with the community of jet boat users in the long term.

Dimensions of the Experience

The nature of the experience varies both across individuals and across trips for specific individuals. The bio-sketches contained in the companion report include a more detailed characterization of the experiences described by specific individuals. This section of the report tries to provide a broad overview of the types of experiences being sought by jet boat users on the Salmon River.

Some of the descriptions of the experience primarily emphasize a specific activity. This is most notable with regard to fishing. For example one of the respondents indicated frequency of use in the Fall depends on how good the steelhead run is and another even indicated he "kind of got out of the habit of doing it" after a season with a bad steelhead run. For other individuals (or in some cases other trips) the focus is primarily hunting.

Particularly when the focus was not on a specific activity like fishing, some of the interview participants had difficulty singling out the best part or what made the experience so enjoyable. As one interview participant responded to this question "[laugh] I don't know. What makes the ocean so great? I don't know." And this does seem to express the sentiment for many, it is not just one dimension but the whole experience that is enjoyed. However, generally interview participants were able to describe some of the key dimensions of the trip in more specific detail.

The experience of jet boating itself is an important dimension of the activity. However, interview participants indicated they are not up there to race. And while the ride is described as thrilling and a challenge, one interview participant expressed the belief that most of the current jet boaters are not about "horsepower" and "slam[ming] it up those rapids." While thrilling, the experience of operating a jet boat is stressful and those who boat on the upper Salmon have a great deal of respect for the danger involved, the power of the river, and the skill required to boat it. In fact, the nature of the experience is such that even passengers may have play a role in successfully negotiating rapids (the distribution of weight at times becomes critically important). The upper Salmon is seen by many as the ultimate challenge. And as one jet boater indicated, he has not "made that commitment to the Salmon. I guess we go to the Snake ... I figure until I learn that one well, I'm not going to move on."

While the jet boating itself is an important dimension of the experience, as noted in the section on access, interview participants are also seeking opportunities to enjoy the area as well. Many of the participants described opportunities to experience nature and wildlife as important. Bighorn sheep were often noted as an outstanding feature of the area and experience. The bear population was also noted by several respondents. And as noted before in the discussion of wilderness, there was keen awareness of and interest in the human history of the area. Many of the interview participants characterized jet boating as a family activity. These latter two dimensions seemed to be especially evident among those for whom the river seemed most significant. The following excerpts illustrate the interview participants' responses about the nature of the experience.

Fishing

> I primarily go for [steelhead] fishing. I have not gone for any other reason. I enjoy the scenery up there and I've often talked about taking my wife and just go up the river to see everything, but as of yet I haven't done that. She doesn't ... like the jet boat. (Byron, 33-36, #191)
>
> D: ... we try to spend as much time as possible on weekends in the fall during the steelhead season. And then depending on what kind of run we've got, how frequent that is. A couple years ago it was just about every other weekend. I: No kidding. It was that good of a run? D: Yeah. But this last -- this last winter I only made one trip down there. Fishing was terrible. And then they raised the water level early. Which kind of killed the way we fish. (Denny, 270-299, #192)
>
> I haven't been up there for two years. Two years ago we had a short run, actually had a bad steelhead run and I haven't been up there. ... normally in the Spring and the Fall I go. We had that short run of steelhead and I kind of got out of the habit of doing it. Normally I go 3 plus times a year. (Derrick, 90-115, #193)
>
> During the colder times I go hunting and fishing. I work during the summer so there's not much time then. In the winter time when the ice isn't there, if you get there right after the ice goes out the fishing's good, you don't have much competition, it's just the guides and landowners really, they're the only people who are there. Then late in the fall it's real nice because it's the same thing, it's the guides and the landowners. You get to learn the holes and stuff. I used to bank fish off the Salmon down around Riggins, but between the guides with their drift boats and increased number of fishermen along the bank, it's pretty tough. You have to get there at daylight and you may not get the hole you were thinking of, then as soon as you change holes, somebody's been there. First water means a lot when you're catching steelhead.... we have a cabin up there so we can start in at Mackay Bar and fish down, the guides start at the bottom end and fish up and we've already had first water on some of them holes up there where they've had them on the bottom. (Andy, 37-48, #194)

Hunting

> Well, for me, the hunting is the thing. Let me put it this way, I certainly enjoy the jet boating and the overall trip would probably lose something were it not for getting up through the rapids and that kind of thing, but it wouldn't spoil the trip for me if we didn't jet boat in.

… it … is primarily the camping and the hunting, the reason I go anyway. (Mitch, 36-39, #195)

I: When was the last time that you remember being up the Salmon, the upper portion, you know, like Vinegar Creek to Corn Creek? B: I was there the last time, October -- let's say 15th. I can't remember the exact day. I: … So … that time of year did you go to hunt that particular trip or -- B: Yes. … a good friend of mine had a sheep tag and we were -- I was taking his camp down and helping him pack his meat out and stuff. (Bob, 75-83, #196)

And some years in the past we've … hauled our horses and mules up the river. There's a picture of that old 22 foot boat with a mule loaded in it. In fact, that particular trip, my boy was twelve years old. [My brother's] boy was about eight. … we took the top off of that boat, took the seats out of it, put some plywood down on the floor, and we built a ramp going from the walk-through windshield down to the floor there. And we thought it was going to work.… We trailered the boat to Whitebird, the mule was at Whitebird, and we unhooked the boat from the pickup and backed up to a gravel bank and caught the mule and loaded it in the back of the pickup and took everything to the end of the road above Riggins.… We got the boat in the water then unhooked the trailer and unloaded the mule out of the pickup and spent about 20 minutes trying to get the mule in the boat. Got the mule in the boat and hauled her up to Sheep Creek. And got him unloaded .. we loaded our backpack stuff and our tent on the mule's back and we started climbing up the mountain. [My brother's] boy … he kind of gave out so he was hanging on to the mule's tail. … up in a basin up off the river there about, oh, maybe a mile or a little over, spotted some elk and my boy … ended up killing a spike bull and my brother killed a spike bull. … I hauled one of the spike bulls … to the river that night. And they …just set up our tent there on the mountainside. … And then [I] got on the mule and rode her back up to camp and got to camp about midnight. And the next morning there was snow on the ground. … [My brother] and I each took a quarter of the elk on our backpacks, put half of the elk and all the camp on the mule's back and went to the river and we got our camp loaded in the boat. Then we spent another 20 minutes trying to get the mule in the boat, or a half hour. And came back down to the end of the road and came home and we were in Lewiston Sunday night. So anyway, the jet boat played a … very integral part in that. (Daniel 329-365, #197)

The Whole Package

I: What is it about the river then, if you could describe, what is it that makes it unique and special? C: [laughter] I don't know. What makes the ocean so great? I don't know. It's just the whole thrill of the rapids and just the scenery, the -- you know, you see the sheep and just everything is just -- it's -- I don't know. I don't think there is just one thing. (Cathy, 49-69, #198)

I: When you go on those trips, is there one part of the trip that's the best part, the fishing or the ride, or whatever, or is it kind of the whole package? B: It's the whole experience, I think. Being there on that river and the scenery and seeing the deer and the elk along the river. The whole thing. The two or three guys that go with me are in their early 20's and they enjoy the whole experience. (Byron, 38-42, #199)

The Experience of Jet Boating - Challenge, Skill, Humility

I: In your experience, do you feel that the Forest Service has any misconceptions about jet boaters? B: I think if they had watched them a few years ago. And I'm talking probably ten years ago as far as a generation of people, they would have. Because I think a lot more of the guys that I knew then were really into let's put the horsepower in the boat and let's slam it up those rapids. (Byron, 129-133, #200)

H: ... our boats don't go fast ... most of the time we're only going five miles an hour. T: It feels like you're not moving. You wonder, are we stuck? H: ... these boats will go maybe 30 miles an hour, I suppose. They can go that fast. But when you're coming into them rapids you pull down and, hell, you're just climbing them. You get into this like you're walking a trail and you're moving along so slowly you can see all kinds of stuff. When you come down through them you ain't going usually -- I think them boats plane maybe at twelve miles an hour, fourteen miles an hour. (Howard and Tammy, *963-1002, #201)

I guess if you go back to where a lot of people are when they start out jet boating, it's more of a thrill. There's a challenge there of running whitewater, it's the same thing as rafting, you know. You get the same feeling in your gut. If you're standing below Chittam at the end of highwater and you're looking at 15 foot waves that you've got to go up with the jet boat or whether your above Big Mallard in a raft coming down and wondering if that hole at the bottom is going to eat you this time. It's kind of the same thing, I don't know how to describe that. (Roger, 74-78, #202)

D: ... I mean, it's ... intense -- very intense. G: Very stressful if you're operating. D: You just don't make a mistake. G: You've got everybody's life in your hands. ... You don't go up there goofing around. (David and Gary, 212-224, #203)

B: I stay awake half the night before I run it. ... I: No kidding? ... out of fear or terror or just excitement? G: There's a fear factor. B: I'll run it two or three times, you know, each rapid as they come that day before I ever get in the boat. ... you never know how many people you're going to have, how you're going to do this, and how you're going to do that, and how heavy is the boat going to be, which is a big factor. (Bart and Gary, 483-498, #204)

S: You're up there and you're all alone. If you break down -- J: Yeah. S: That scares a lot of people out of it. K: Yeah. You know, that might be part of the mystique about it. If you break down -- it's just she and I and we're in our boat by ourselves. We break down late in the day we're going to be spending the night out there. There's a danger factor there that I don't really like that, especially when I have my kids with me. But it's something that we're willing to do, you know. (Sean, Jack, and Ken, 651-665, #205)

The problem is, no matter how much you know about where you're supposed to go in that river, the river doesn't always necessarily let you go there. Those hydraulics in that river, it's powerful. It's real powerful. I relate it a lot to like flying. I used to be a pilot, I haven't been current for twenty years, but it's a lot the same thing. You've got to be on that all the time. You've got to know what you're doing. In fact, in a jet boat, you can get in trouble faster than you can in the air a lot of times. (Mitch, 178-185, #206)

C: And [as Jason] was saying [a little while ago] when he powered out ..., it was my weight that was in the back and this other guy, and I took that guy and I shoved him up front and I went up front just over the top. J: She knew what I needed and that made me plane out. I: So it sounds ... like even the passengers play a role. C: I think they do. J: It helps. Now if you've got a commercial and had a bunch of people that have never been in a jet boat before, they could have panicked and did the wrong thing, went the wrong way. (Cathy and Jason, 1581-1590, #207)

I: Do you have a feel for how the experience is different then when you're a passenger as opposed to being the operator? [laughter] S: When you're a passenger it's just a lot of fun. You can see and look around and talk to people. And if there's nobody there, you know, that you have the scenery. But if you're driving that boat you don't do that. I: Yeah. S: The concentration level's too much for me. I: Okay. So there's -- T: It's a whole different ball game when you get up -- get over in that driver's seat. (Sarah and Tom, 990-1006, #208)

T: There are different ways to run the river. You can go around a rock one way or around the other way. ... Sometimes I'll sneak around, run around behind the big rock right next to shore or something just to give the passengers a kick, you know. S: And I'll say to him, why'd you do that? [laughter] T: I took my sister up one time to Salmon Falls and she'd never been in a jet boat before. ... I run it a pretty good clip ... I like to run up in there and wiggle my way up through it. I like to get lined up and hit it and run up through it so that I don't get knocked all over the place. ... I started approaching the falls and I was getting set up ... for my approach and she said, you're not going to run that, are you? You're Not Going To Run That, Are You? YOU'RE NOT GOING TO RUN THIS, ARE YOU? And you hit a big wall and you move forward, you know and come out on top. She said, my God, she said, that scared me. She said, I shut my eyes. I said, well, that's the only way to run it. [laughter] (Tom and Sarah, 1088-1118, #209)

J: Well, in my estimation, part of the Snake and this part of the Salmon are ... the ultimate challenge for a jet boater. You don't go on a river that's beyond that. And ... I just haven't had the opportunity or wanted to make the commitment to take my boat on the Salmon. And ... its probably silly , because it's all hearsay. It's all stuff I've heard from other people, except like I say, the one trip I took in there. We went with a fairly inexperienced operator. He didn't give me much confidence. He stuffed the bow in a wave for instance, and the wind shield came out on him, pinned him in the driver's seat, and we had to extricate him before we could beach the boat and we could pump the water out. [laughs] But yet, I mean it was a neat ride, but I've got a lot of respect for those rivers and... so far I just haven't made that commitment to the Salmon. I guess we go to the Snake ... I figure until I learn that one well, I'm not going to move on. (Jeff, *128-139, #210)

Nature

Just like me, I would never race. They tried to get me to race the river down there and I said no. I have no reason to race through this, you know. I'd rather go up there slow and look. (Jason, 1061-1067, #211)

H: I think that anybody that runs there, it's the whole -- the whole feeling you get when you're all done with your fishing trip is something you -- that is with you for years, you know. Because you come back feeling good knowing that you were part of nature, basically. (Howard, 1392-1396, #212)

Part of is the river, but part of it is where you go. I mean it's absolutely pristine up there. Just the wildlife that you don't see anywhere else and the quiet and the beauty. And I would have to say that we're jet boaters, but we appreciate it like any rafter would. ... the peace and quiet. (Alicia, 206-210, #213)

... my favorite animal is the wild sheep. There's that picture [showing interviewer picture].

That's one that we took up there and have taken several up there. But I love -- that's my favorite animal. So I used to go up there and I hunt them with a camera. I've never even applied for a permit to shoot one. I just love to go and watch them, especially in November when they start banging heads. ... You darn near see a sheep every time you go up there. (Jason, *338-362, #214)

I: When ... you take your boat up there, what's the ... funnest or the best part of the experience for you? ... H: Well, the whole corridor scenic ... Seeing the sheep and deer, elk, occasional moose. That was - I remember sheep hunting up there. We were down on the Salmon River on the trail that comes -- goes up to, I think, Bargamin Creek and then up over the hill. But anyway, we were hiking along up there and there was a little, kind of a meadow just below the trail, and maybe a half acre, and there was a huge ol' bull moose in there. And I mean, he was huge. In fact his horns were in the regress ... But he had his own private pasture. ... But then there's a lot of -- you can see bear, a lot of bear along that river. Probably a higher bear population than any place in Idaho, I would guess. (Hank, 124-158, #215)

D: I think I enjoy the scenery the most. I really enjoy the scenery. We took some people who have never been on a jet boat just this last week, never been on a jet boat, never been in the area. ... and we seen three wolves. The first time I ever saw a wolf. ... that was pretty exciting. They didn't even see us. They never did see us. ... I: Wow, so they were right along the -- D: No, no, no. We were walking. ... And we know definitely for two and we thought we seen the third one. But they didn't even see us. Luckily we sat down and were just looking at the side of the hill and all of a sudden, here they come. A: Yeah it was really a treat. ... And we watched them for maybe five minutes, it was a treat. ... D: Well we seen close to a hundred head of elk. We've seen deer and we've seen chuckers and sheep. (Doug and Alicia, 252-290, #216)

J: We go up there and there'll be times that you'll go - I went up to China Bar just to drive there, took the boat, went up, you saw some country that you normally don't see, there's always the possibility of seeing elk or deer or moose or sheep right down on the river which, how many people see sheep running along the river? (John, 79-82, #217)

Each and every time you go it's something different. You go up there and if you're fishing when the ice is on the river, there's all the bighorn sheep are down, you know, so you're getting to see that aspect of it. If you go up in the spring time the bears are down. You get to see that. There's just so much different stuff going on. It's all neat. (Matt, 416-422, #218)

Cultural History

H: The grandchildren were just here. ... they always call me up in the summer time. We go down for a picnic or something on a Sunday or Saturday, whatever and look around, go sturgeon fishing. T: Looking at just the sights, like the Indian stuff, you know, they have on the rivers. Our grandkids wouldn't be able to see it, so we take them down there and show it to them. H: Yeah. Some of the old mines that are down there are really fascinating.... During the Depression these people mined there and there's, if you know where to look, they got old cables ... And we'd just go down through there. And then the China diggings that are down there, they'd pile all these rocks up.... Yeah, there's a lot of history there, you know, that is really important. (Howard and Tammy, 116-125, #219)

D: On our place we saved a place where there's a tepee ring. We saved it and we had a fire pit where the Indians actually built a fire to smoke the salmon. ... we have ... Chinese dwellings on our own place and we can go down there and show the people ... where the Chinese were. ... A: We have collected a lot of the history of the river. So when we bring guests back to our house, we probably spend a couple days reading the history of the area. And people are fascinated with the stories that the early Chinese, the Indians ... So we have a big book of just history. And then the Badley family, what they were like and how they got all these ranches and what was the thinking and growing trends. They were making moonshine. D: They were making moonshine. And we read the story about Tom Colman. His appendix burst and so he came out to McCall and a nurse came back to help. He finally died and he gave the ranch to the nurse. The nurse had no use for this 90 acres back there. So she traded for Tom Copenhagen for half a beef. She got half a beef free, he got the 90 acres. So that's the story! ... That's the truth. That's part of history. ... be able to share it, don't lock it up and leave it so nobody knows about what happened. Ninety percent of the people on the South Fork were running from the law ... that's what made our country. We all didn't live in Lewiston, we don't live in Boise. You see what I'm saying? A: We never bring a guest in there that doesn't come back with a lot of feelings of what has transpired in history. One of the biggest things that helped me to understand how important it was was Larry King's paper, ... he's the archeologist for the Payette National Forest or maybe it's the other forest. They were doing a dig at Mackay Bar while we were home schooling. And he said this is history. This is as far back as our history goes is Lewis and Clark. That's written down. It doesn't go back very far. Get back to Europe you can go back centuries. D: We're a young country, we're very young. Larry King he was really nice to us, he really helped us to understand the Chinese and to understand what we're looking at. (Doug and Alicia, 593-629, #220)

M: And you got -- you had a lot of the old timers that were still alive that we knew. Buckskin Billy was one of them. I mean, he was there and there's books wrote about the guy. And so I know when I was outfitting we'd take people for just a tour of that thing. We took lots of people up there. ... And you stopped at Polly B. because of Polly, and the Shepp Ranch, and all these different places. So there's a lot of history all over the place. Each and every one of those cricks up there has some significant -- S: Story. M: -- thing that went on. (Matt and Samantha, 734-748, #221)

Well, for one thing I've been on the river so many years that I know the creeks and I know who homesteaded there and the history of the river, and ... it hasn't changed that much, you know. I mean, in the winter time when the floaters aren't there. (Jason, 439-441, #222)

Family

... it's not a race, you know. They do have jet boat races, true; not up in that part of the river. But these people that are boating like this, these are family people. They're not down there for a boat race. They're there for all the reasons any other family would go on an outing. (Linda, 1752-1753, #223)

The best part for me is the quality time that you get to spend with your family. You know you actually spend time with your family and it's the whole package, being up there is great and the ride is cool, and fishing is just an added thing for me. (Amy, 85-86, #224)

The interaction with your friends and family too. You get out there and you're away from the other influences that... you know, the phone doesn't ring. You know, its an opportunity to get to know them again, I guess. [Laughter] (Jeff, 95-97, #225)